Archaeology for the People? Greek Archaeology and its Public: an Analysis of the Socio-Political and Economic Role of Archaeology in Greece

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I, Anastasia Sakellariadi, confirm that the work presented in this thesis is my own. Where information has been derived from other sources, I confirm that this has been indicated in the thesis.

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Abstract

During the last thirty years, archaeology has become increasingly aware of the socio-political context within which it is practiced. Theoretical advances of the discipline as well as pressure from the world of cultural resource management have contributed to this development. Greek archaeology, since its beginning, based on academic elitism of foreign scholars and schools of archaeology and on the newly-founded state's (1830) need to build a national identity, has barely followed this path of self-awareness and social reciprocity and has become less relevant to both the state and the people of Greece.

This thesis investigates the relationship between Greek archaeology and the people of Greece and its development since the foundation of the Greek state. More particularly, the social, political and economic role of archaeology in local communities, its public values and the actual aims and objectives of the State Archaeological Service are revealed through the examination of three case studies: the archaeological sites of Philippi in Kavala, Dispilio in Kastoria, in northern Greece, and the archaeological site of Delphi in central Greece.

Factors traditionally considered irrelevant to the archaeological agenda are considered. Public perceptions on archaeology and its relevance today, locals' relation to the neighbouring sites and the level of engagement with them and stakeholders' interaction with local archaeology are discussed. Documentary evidence and other archival material enlighten the history of archaeology in general and in connection to these sites.

The relationship between Greek archaeology and local communities is revealed to constitute an arena where a variety of agendas are projected and compete. The supreme ideal of the nation as served by archaeology for the moment

seems to make the every day battle between conservation and other interests unscathed. However the public good of archaeology, as the legislator envisaged it, is still looked for.

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INTRODUCTION

Research objectives

This research project set out to investigate the various elements that formulate and influence the relationship between archaeology and local communities, using Greece as a case study. The main aim was to identify what the role of archaeology has been in Greece in socio-political and economic terms.

The key areas of investigation were the following:

- What has the relationship between archaeology and local communities been in Greece in terms of its social, economic and political impact? How and why has this relationship developed?
- What are the public values of archaeology in Greece and how have they altered under the influence of socio-political and economic change?
- What are the current aims and the objectives of Greek archaeology as identified in the priorities of the Archaeological Service?
- What strategies might archaeology implement in Greece in order to reinforce its socio-political and economic role and become more reciprocal and relevant?

The ultimate question this research project raises is: 'for whom is archaeology practiced in Greece?'

The Rationale

Over the last thirty years, developments in several fields have increased archaeology's awareness of the socio-political context it operates in. In post-colonial contexts, pressure from the human rights movement has forced archaeologists to acknowledge their responsibility towards the living members of the indigenous cultures they study. This has led to collaborative approaches

in archaeological research that today constitute the field of community archaeology (see 1.2).

Community archaeology has also been taken up in European contexts. A long tradition of antiquarianism had resulted in the formation of many local societies in Britain in the nineteenth century. After a long break during the years of professionalisation of archaeology and intensive rescue work, grassroots engagement with local heritage and the past resurfaced. Such initiatives usually aim to raise awareness and to increase local involvement in the management of archaeological resources (see 1.3).

At the same time, archaeologists have become increasingly alarmed by the low levels of public interest and awareness of the threats that development pressures pose to the finite and exhaustible archaeological resource, as well as the socio-political and economic value of archaeology. This was the beginning of public archaeology (McGimsey 1972) as a field that later developed, in other parts of the world, to include any aspect of archaeology relevant to the public sphere (see 1.4).

A broadening of theoretical considerations through the post-processual critique of archaeological theory has also contributed in this direction. Closer collaboration with socio-cultural anthropology has resulted in the formation of new fields of enquiry, such as archaeological ethnography (see 1.5).

These developments have had further implications for the discipline. The emergence of archaeological ethics (see 1.6) and a more solid understanding of the political role of the discipline, especially in relation to nation-state building processes (see 1.7), are of particular interest to this research project.

As a result, a new place for the public in the treatment and management of archaeological resources has increasingly appeared. Intergovernmental organisations and NGOs promote international charters and good practices, such as the value-based approach, where even an auditing role has been assigned to the public (see 1.8 and 1.9). Research in public perceptions of the past and of archaeology has been conducted to inform these efforts. The impetus for such research has come either from the realisation that archaeological work requires public support or from the acknowledgment that archaeological resources are public possessions that need to be shared and that their benefits need to be disseminated (see 1.10).

These developments have not reached all quarters of the discipline yet. For instance, Greek archaeology has had little interaction with them because its fundamental role in the nation-state and identity building process has given it the focus of a national mission of the highest importance. For Greece, connecting the nation-state that emerged from the War of Independence with the Ottoman Empire in 1830, and ancient Greece, a complex cultural entity, many centuries old, and predominantly its Classical phase, has been the guarantee of political emancipation and future existence in the West. The safeguarding of antiquities thus became a political priority and the Classical past, the foundation of Greek national identity (see 2.1.2).

The high political profile of the past very quickly led to the establishment of a state-run archaeological system and the promise of universal protection through the use of state resources. Although neither its resources nor its administrative structure have ever been close to adequate for the fulfilling of its mission (see 2.1.3 and 2.1.5), the absolute right of state ownership of antiquities, as granted by powerful legislation (see 2.1.4), has brought positive results for the protection of antiquities. However, in spite of the fact that this system has

worked well in itself and has contributed immensely to the safeguarding of Greek antiquities, it has also had negative consequences that require reconsideration and re-adaptation.

The national mission of archaeology and the symbolic capital of the past have shaped individual and collective identities and filtered public perceptions through a variety of mechanisms such as museums, public education and the media (see 2.2.2-6). The past and the study of its remains have been trapped in this role until today, when nation-building processes are no longer relevant, for any other than a nationalist populist discourse.

Archaeology has thus lost its relevance to the people in Greece. Even more than that, the discipline has lost its mission and its role. Settled within the security of state structures, the field has not gone through a period of re-negotiation with society (Kotsakis 2002). The questions of *why do we protect archaeological heritage* and *whom do we protect it for* have been left unasked for too long. As a consequence, archaeology, despite its acknowledged potential, is no longer reciprocal to the current needs of society. The discipline has not re-orientated its efforts towards domains of primary importance, such as education, social cohesion and political awareness.

Additionally, the legal requirement of state ownership of antiquities as well as the richness of the country in archaeological resources necessitates the collaboration of the people in protection. What this currently means is that people do not have a choice but to collaborate by dealing with patience and at their own cost with the demands of a complicated system of archaeological management. Such problems are amplified when they are considered in a geographically restricted context such as local communities, where archaeologists, locals, authorities and other sub-groups of the public interact in

a spatially restricted locality and often for a long time. Issues of the system itself and of the broader socio-political and economic context further influence the relationship between archaeology and these communities.

The field's lack of relevance, as well as the necessity of public collaboration in protection, raises the ethical and practical issue of archaeology's reciprocity. It is an ethical obligation for archaeology, especially for a state-run system of archaeological management, to return its benefits to the people in the name of whom it is practiced. Finally, a reciprocal relationship between archaeology and local communities can ensure the sustainable protection of their archaeological heritage through the sharing of responsibility and of the benefits of this protection.

Approach

Chapter One examines the emergence of archaeological concern for its socio-political context both inside and outside the discipline. Indigenous archaeology and public archaeology, post-processual archaeology and common fields of research with social anthropology are discussed along with developments from the field of management of archaeological resources, i.e. international charters and conventions. Archaeological ethics and research into the relationship between archaeology and nationalism are considered for their influence on the discipline. Finally, surveys of public perceptions of archaeology that have been conducted around the world are reviewed in detail.

Chapter Two is a critical examination of the emergence of archaeological management and policy in Greece and of its political, economic, legislative and administrative context. Particular attention is paid to the more public aspects of archaeological practice. These include formal and top-down approaches such as

archaeological museums, public events and educational programmes organised by the Archaeological Service, the presentation of archaeological narratives in school textbooks, a survey conducted among students regarding archaeology, and a critical discussion on the ways archaeological news is reported in the press. This is followed by a review of recent research regarding the relationship of archaeology with local communities throughout Greece. Finally, an attempt to identify more informal and bottom-up approaches to archaeology is made by briefly reviewing recent efforts from NGOs and civil society movements.

Chapter Three presents the approach to the fieldwork designed to answer the questions posed above, in which the methodology is discussed in detail. Quantitative and qualitative methods are presented separately. The chapter concludes with a consideration of the project's constraints, implications, and necessary explanation of the way the data has been presented.

Chapter Four comprises the three case studies undertaken: the archaeology of each area, the history of that archaeology, their operation as sites of archaeological interest, the local communities and their development, and the current state of affairs between these communities and archaeology.

Chapter Five brings together the work conducted and considered in this thesis. The first section analyses what the overall relationship between archaeology and the case study communities has been, including more specific aspects in social, economic and political terms. Wherever necessary, the relationship is discussed historically. In the second section, the public values archaeology has been found to inspire are identified, with discussion of whether these have changed over time. The third section evaluates the aims and objectives of Greek archaeology as they have emerged from interviews with state officials and academic archaeologists operating in the region. In the fourth section, strategies

applied to date and further considerations regarding the reciprocity of archaeology are discussed. Finally, the question of 'for whom is archaeology practiced in Greece' is examined. The chapter ends with a discussion of further issues that were identified during research and analysis.

The conclusions present a summary of the patterns and relationships discussed.

CHAPTER ONE. ARCHAEOLOGY IN CONTEXT: PUBLIC ARCHAEOLOGY AROUND THE WORLD

1.1 Introduction

A range of developments from around the world has contributed to the formation of public archaeology. Resisting efforts to define it, public archaeology has become an extensive and multifaceted field, presenting particularities according to context. This chapter discusses these developments: the formation of indigenous, post-processual and community archaeology, the emergence of archaeological ethics, the socio-political role of archaeology with particular reference to nationalism, the evolving role of the public in international charters and archaeological resource management, with specific mention of the value debate. Finally, attempts around the world to capture public perceptions of the past and of archaeology are reviewed in some detail.

1.2 Indigenous Archaeology

Concerns over the socio-political context in which archaeology is practiced, emerged in the 1960s and 1970s as part of human rights movements in post-colonial countries. In Australia, protection, research and presentation of Aboriginal culture had been conducted with the absence and exclusion of Aboriginal people. This practice had adverse consequences, as it was disrespectful to living cultural traditions through desecration of sites of cultural significance and even removal of ancestral human remains. Aborigines demanded greater participation in the bodies that oversaw Aboriginal affairs; among them the Australian Institute for Aboriginal Studies (AIAS). The change to a Labour government in 1972 led to a shift in the state's attitude towards Aborigines, from one of assimilation to enabling self-determination, thus

allowing for more emancipated approaches towards Aboriginal concerns (Moser 1994).

The AIAS was the earliest relevant institution to address such issues by promoting the 'aboriginalisation' of Australian Archaeology. This was achieved by opening training, employment, membership and participation in conferences, committees and grant procedures, through requiring consultation with relevant indigenous communities prior to field research, and advocating these to other government agencies and institutions, even by means of legislation. The outcome was the re-casting of the agenda of Australian prehistoric research (Moser 1994).

At the same time, the *Aboriginal Land Rights Act* (1976) granted aboriginal claims to Crown land in the Northern Territory, as long as continuing occupancy of and relationship to the land could be proven. Archaeologists, who by then were made to consider the implications of their work on descendant communities and often defend these communities' demands, now became more politically involved (Moser 1994: 159). As Peter Ucko, then Head of AIAS, said:

> It was self-evident to me that, at this point, the academics and scholars had no option but to leave the comfort of their cloistered walls, and enter the real world, to step away from their long-held academic priorities and to participate and help in the fight for the survival of the culture and heritage of the indigenous peoples whose lands, lives and belief systems had, until now, been merely the subject of academic study (Ucko 1987: 3).

Since then legislation has been put in place at state and federal levels, and relevant recommendations have been issued (for a review up to 1989, see Flood 1989).

One of the effects of indigenous archaeology on archaeological practice was the development of a community-based archaeology. In this context, archaeologists had to take negotiations for permission to access and research a step further, and formulate their research questions and all the other stages of archaeological research in collaboration with the Aborigines themselves (Moser 1994: 170; for a wider selection of projects from around the world see Derry and Malloy 2003; Marshall 2002).

Similar processes were at work in the US in the 1970s. These led to the first state legislation in Iowa in 1976 with the *Burials Protection Act*, and resulted in the passing of a federal law, the *Native Americans Graves Protection and Repatriation Act* (NAGPRA), in 1990. NAGPRA set out a process for museums and federal agencies to return Native American cultural items, such as human remains, funerary and sacred goods and objects of cultural heritage, which are found on federal land, to lineal descendants, tribes or organisations, if cultural affiliation can be established (NAGPRA 2011). Issues regarding NAGPRA's application to federal land only, the appropriate means of establishing cultural affiliation, and the valorisation of Native American claims over scientific significance, among others, remain. However, NAGPRA has contributed to the empowerment of indigenous Americans in regard to their cultural heritage and to a more self-conscious and aware practice of archaeology, one that is more inclusive and considerate of living traditions. As in the case of Australia, training, employment and extensive collaboration with indigenous communities at all stages of archaeological research are now promoted within American

archaeology (Silliman 2008). (For examples regarding other parts of the world see Sillar and Fforde 2005).

In 1986, the first World Archaeological Congress (WAC) took place and WAC, as an organisation, was formed acknowledging once and for all 'the historical and social role, and the political context, of archaeological enquiry' (article 2.2, WAC Statutes 2011). This conference succeeded in attracting participation from Third and Fourth world countries, from non-experts and from members of cultural groups that have been subjects of archaeological, and anthropological research. In addition to this at the height of international sanctions against the South African apartheid regime, WAC banned participants from that country and Namibia, thus forcing archaeology to take a stance on a contemporary political controversy (Ucko 1987). Since then quadrennial congresses and more frequent inter-congresses have been organised addressing the many ways, often controversial, that archaeology is perceived and interpreted in the present (e.g. the 2009 Ramallah Inter-congress on 'Overcoming Structural Violence').

1.3 Community Archaeology

Community archaeology also developed outside of post-colonial contexts and indigenous archaeology. Stemming from a long antiquarian tradition and gaining impetus from Victorian values, the emergence of local government structures and the widespread arts and crafts movement following the Industrial Revolution, archaeology in Britain was very much at the hands of amateurs and local societies throughout the nineteenth century. From 1836 to 1886, 56 local societies were founded in England alone. The Royal Archaeological Institute, established in 1844, determined the formation of the archaeological discipline and the role of the past in modern society, in spite of

limitations in the geographical distribution and the social background of its membership (Ebbatson 1994).

Public interest in archaeology declined in the first half of the twentieth century and membership in local societies decreased (Manley 1999). From the 1960s and on, archaeology was progressively professionalised in order to counter the destructive effects of development on archaeological resources. Rescue excavation introduced archaeology in the world of planning and development and limited public access, in the UK especially after funding responsibility was transferred to developers under the 'polluter-pays' approach in *Policy and Planning Guidance Note 16*, commonly referred to as PPG 16 (Faulkner 2000: 22; Schadla-Hall 2004: 3-4; Start 1999).

In the UK, community archaeology re-emerged from within the Leicestershire Archaeological Unit in 1976 as a volunteer fieldwalking group. The group grew with time and soon its members formed more groups to undertake more locally based surveys and even small excavations (Liddle 1985, 1989, 2004; Schadla-Hall 2004). Since then, a wide range of projects have been run under the banner of community archaeology, largely funded by the Heritage Lottery Fund (as examples, see Brown *et al.* 2004; Oswald 2007) in spite of efforts to formalise it (Tully 2007; for a critique see Moshenska 2008a). Community archaeology has attracted increasing attention (Schadla-Hall 2004; Moshenska *et al.* 2007) and its impact has recently started to be assessed (Simpson 2010; Simpson and Williams 2008) (for a further appraisal of community archaeology, and more specifically, its potential contribution towards reshaping more traditional strands of the discipline such as Classical archaeology, see Sakellariadi 2010).

1.4 Public Archaeology

McGimsey, in his seminal book *Public Archaeology* (McGimsey 1972), alerted archaeologists to the current and future state of preservation of archaeological resources in the US, advocating archaeology as a public resource and public engagement with preservation as the only means to effectively achieve it. The aim of his book was to propose a state-run programme for archaeological research and it therefore included and discussed basic provisions and requirements as well as relevant legislation. In this framework, public archaeology is conceived in the US either as Cultural Resources Management (CRM) or as public education and interpretation of archaeology (Jameson 2004: 21-2, for a series of core papers on the US approach, see Ascher 1960; DeCicco 1988; Fagan 1977; Jameson 1997; McManamon 1991, 2000; Potter 1990; Sabloff 1998; see also *Common Ground*, the National Park Service magazine, http://www.nps.gov/history/commonground/). It is also from the perspective of the emancipatory potential of the public interpretation of archaeology that more activist kinds of archaeological practice have emerged, such as action archaeology (Little and Shackel 2007; McGuire 2008; Sabloff 2008; Saitta 2007).

Although McGimsey's book was introduced early on in the British archaeological discourse (see Schadla-Hall 1975), public archaeology in Britain took on another, broader meaning as 'any area of archaeological activity that interacts or has the potential to interact with the public' (Schadla-Hall 1999: 147), including but not restricted to the illicit trade of antiquities, the relationship with nationalism, issues regarding contract archaeology, indigenous archaeology, archaeology in the media, archaeological legislation, authenticity, conservation and representation ethics, archaeology in the service of the state, and dissonant archaeologies (Ascherson 2000: 2). There have been efforts to bring North American and British approaches under the common

rubric of public archaeology (see Merriman 2004; *Public Archaeology Journal,* http://maney.co.uk/index.php/journals/pua/).

1.5 Post-Processual Archaeology

At the same time, archaeological theory was opened up to broader social theory and conversant with structuralism, contemporary Marxism, post-structuralism, critical theory, hermeneutics, phenomenology, realist and post-positivist philosophy (Hodder 1992 (1987): xv; Leone *et al.* 1987; Shanks 1991; Shanks and Tilley 1987, 1992 (1987)). The diverse theoretical trend that emerged has been generically termed post-processual archaeology.

Several of the premises of post-processual archaeology have impacted on the relationship of archaeology and archaeologists with the rest of the world. Among them, objections to the division between theory and practice, or data (Hodder 1984), and an emphasis on interpretation as the attribution of meaning (Hodder 1991), consequently acknowledging the role of the archaeologist in the present (Hodder 2003, 1991) as well as the role of agency, both in the past and in the understanding and appreciation of the past in the present (Handley and Schadla-Hall 2004; Shanks 1991). These premises allowed for the clarification of the role of archaeology and of archaeologists in the present and highlighted the relationship between archaeology and its contemporary context, while recognising at the same time other, even bottom-up approaches to archaeology and the past. The approach of material culture as text and the importance of context (Hodder and Hutson 2003 (Hodder [only] 1986)) were other significant propositions.

An important outcome of this theoretical work was the development of what has been called 'reflexive excavation methodology', based on the premise that

interpretation has been misleadingly considered as a process separate to data collection and recording. To confront the need to provide for interpretation at all levels but also from all potential interest groups in the face of the broadening context of archaeological practice, Hodder has called for four principles this can be based on: reflexivity, contextuality, interactivity and multivocality (1997, 2003).

These premises have been implemented in the Catalhöyük project through a series of methods either focused on the excavation process or on rendering raw data publicly accessible. Therefore, the presence of laboratory specialists in the excavation trenches and the provision of feedback to the excavators as quickly as possible has informed interpretation at all stages of the archaeological process and strengthened the contextual aspect of data. The parallel work of social anthropologists in studying and discussing the context of knowledge production enhances interpretation while raising awareness and reflexivity. Public access via the Internet to the entire database of the project and use of multimedia has contributed to interactivity and multivocality. It is worth mentioning that the database is accompanied by an explanation of terminology (Catalhöyük Databases Online). Other archaeologists have reported on similar methods in their work (e.g. Andrews *et al.* 2000; Chadwick 1998; Faulkner 2002).

Additionally, multi-sited ethnography has proven to be a method that can be integrated with reflexive methodology. Bartu (2000; Bartu Candan 2005) has discussed the relationships between the many groups that have claimed a stake in the archaeological site of Catalhöyük and the various sites where different kinds of knowledge regarding Catalhöyük are being produced and consumed, including politicians, local, national and European, members of the community, visitors, artists, and 'Mother Goddess' worshipers. She has then elaborated on the ways the archaeological team has engaged with each of these groups and

included them in the interpretation, presentation and management process, within the framework of reflexive excavation methodology (Bartu 2000; Bartu Candan 2005).

Bartu has utilised visitor surveys to improve the site's presentation, interpretation and management plan (2000: 104, 2005: 28-9, 36). Constant interaction with the 'Mother Goddess' groups has maintained gender issues high in the research agenda of the archaeological team (2000: 102, 104, 2005: 33-4) and meetings with politicians and bureaucrats have resulted in the team influencing local politics on educational and environmental issues (2000: 101, 104-5, 2005: 30-2), while slide shows, community exhibits and discussion sessions on interpretation have been organised in collaboration with members of the local community (2000: 101, 105-8, 2005: 32-3, 36-7).

The above is discussed critically, with some distance from archaeological practice (see Bartu Candan 2005: 34 regarding the value of the 'Mother Goddess' critique on the excavation) and includes the critique expressed by some of these groups as well as incidents that demonstrate underlying conflicts (see Bartu 2000: 108 on the burning of a house bought by a 'Mother Goddess' group in the nearby village). Implications for archaeological theory and practice, such as the redefinition of what constitutes a 'site', enrichment of the archaeological record and of its interpretation and inclusiveness, and broader contextualisation of knowledge gained from archaeological research in the contemporary social and political context are also discussed (Bartu 2000: 104; Bartu Candan 2005: 37-8).

The field of archaeological ethnography, has also developed by conjoining archaeology and social anthropology, and has offered the opportunity for local community engagement and re-appropriation of anthropological and

archaeological knowledge. Rather than focusing on reflexivity, Castaneda has used ethnographic installations to 'reveal transcultural processes' and 'to multiply and generate new levels, registers or planes of transcultural dynamics' between researchers and local communities (2009: 275). Ultimately, he has focused on aspects of the every day life that are relevant and important for the local community in order to enhance the exchange and sharing of information and understanding of the past in the present by different social groups, ethnographers and locals (Castaneda 2009; for more examples of ethnographic approaches to archaeology see Castaneda and Matthews 2008; Edgeworth 2006; Forbes 2007; Hamilakis and Anagnostopoulos 2009).

1.6 Archaeological Ethics

During this same period, often as a result and in conjunction with these developments, the issue of archaeological ethics dynamically emerged and has continued to develop (Karlsson 2004; Meskell and Pels 2005; Pluciennik 2001; Scarre & Scarre 2006; Vitelli 1996; Vitelli and Colwell-Chanthaphonh 2006; Zimmerman *et al*. 2003; for a review of the ethics debate see Moshenska 2008b). Although the debate has encapsulated a variety of issues from human remains to cultural property and the responsibilities of the profession, the political and social role of archaeology and its responsibility towards contemporary communities have most extensively been addressed in terms of indigenous or descendant communities (see Smith and Wobst 2005; Colwell-Chanthaphonh and Ferguson 2008).

1.7 Archaeology and Nationalism

In recent decades social theorists have reshaped the theoretical framework of the discourse about the nation and nationalism. Nations have been studied in

the context of the modern world and the major phenomena that have marked it (Gellner 1983; Hobsbawm 1990). Furthermore, relationships with existing ethnic communities or 'ethnies' (Smith 2001a, 2001b) and mechanisms of representation and narration have been identified; archaeology among them (Anderson 1991: 182). Discussion of the relationship of archaeology with the socio-political context within which it is practiced (Trigger 1984; Trigger and Glover 1981; Ucko 1987) has opened the way to more specific investigations in the past decade (Diaz-Andreu and Champion 1996; Gathercole and Lowenthal 1990; Kohl and Fawcett 1995; Meskell 1998). Such investigations have highlighted the political nature of archaeology and the multifarious ways in which this has been expressed throughout its history.

1.8 The Public in International Charters

A review of the most influential international charters and conventions regarding the protection and conservation of antiquities in the twentieth and twenty-first centuries demonstrates a great shift in expert communities' perceptions of the public within inter-governmental organisations and NGOs.

The Athens Charter for the Restoration of Historic Monuments (1931), adopted at the First International Congress of Architects and Technicians of Historic Monuments, included few premises that demonstrate consideration of the public. Those that it did include were the occupation of buildings, as a means of ensuring their continuity of life (article I), permissibility of the sacrifice of ownership rights (article II) and the need to relate to public opinion for the purpose of limiting opposition to preservation projects. Most importantly, it referred to the role of education in increasing respect for monuments, especially among young people. Still, this Charter was very much a technical document, where the aesthetic and historical significance of monuments prevailed, at a

time when social and cultural values had not yet been realised as such by experts.

More than thirty years later, in the charter adopted at the Second International Congress of Architects and Technicians of Historic Monuments, widely known as *The Venice Charter* (1964), the difference in expression was noteworthy. In the preamble, there were references to the historic monuments 'of generations of people', to 'the unity of human values' and to 'ancient monuments as common heritage' that demonstrate an increase in social awareness, potentially owing to the lessons learned from the great destruction of the Second World War. Acknowledgment of the cultural significance of 'more modest works of the past' was also considered (article 1). However, *The Venice Charter* emphasised the aesthetic and historical aspect of monuments and the technical character of their protection and conservation more than anything. Even the previous mention of the role of education was removed.

The next doctrinal document issued, UNESCO's *Convention Concerning the Protection of the World Cultural and Natural Heritage* (1972) has been by far the most widely ratified convention regarding culture (Luxon 2004: 8). The Convention itself, other than encompassing the recognition of heritage as an asset of 'all the nations of the world', scarcely mentions the public (articles 5 and 27). However, the operational guidelines (UNESCO 2008), which are frequently revised, reflect the effort to actively engage as broad a public as possible in the implementation of the Convention, including but not restricted to 'local communities, non-governmental organizations (NGOs) and other interested parties', despite the fact that an official party to the Convention has to be a governmental body (par. 12, 15b, 15m, 26.4, 26.5, 40, 63, 123, 211a-d).

The Australia ICOMOS Charter for Places of Cultural Significance, widely known as *The Burra Charter* (introduced in 1979 and revised in 1999), took understanding of the social and cultural role of heritage and its implementation a step further. Adopted to address the particularities of heritage of living cultures, *The Burra Charter* broadened the perspective of what constitutes heritage, and prioritised cultural significance both as an independent notion and as a separate part of the process of protection that precedes and directs conservation and management decisions. Finally, the *Burra Charter* established a comprehensive step-by-step process to meet these principles (Australia ICOMOS 1999; Truscott and Young 2000: 102). It is considered by many authorities to be the most influential charter in site management (Demas 2002: 28; Sullivan 1997: 15).

The ICOMOS Charter on Archaeological Heritage Management, ratified in 1990, constituted an effort to take recent advances such as the achievements of the *Burra Charter* to an international level. It identified the public interest in the protection and conservation of heritage, acknowledged the various needs of different kinds of heritage, established multi-disciplinary approaches and stated the need for collaboration, among others, with the general public as well. The inclusion of active public participation based on information sharing that enables decision making in the notion of 'integrated protection' is of fundamental importance because it establishes public participation as an integral part of protection and conservation mechanisms (article 2). The premise that presentation and information should take account of 'the multifaceted approaches to an understanding of the past' challenged experts' authority over the past (article 7). This charter finally established the public as a partner in the protection and conservation of heritage on an ethical basis.

In 1992, the Council of Europe revised its own *Convention on the Protection of the Archaeological Heritage*, widely known as *The Valletta Convention*. This is

effectively a revision of the 1969 *London Convention* (Young 2001) to consider contemporary conditions such as major construction works, the integration of protection with planning, and the funding of archaeological work. It was therefore mainly a technical document that delineated government obligations and entrenched archaeology within an exclusive professional field restricted to experts, that of 'qualified, specially authorised persons' (for concerns raised on this in Britain, see Schadla-Hall 2001). Consideration of the public is restricted to educational actions and public access, and is discussed in extremely ambiguous terms such as 'important elements of [the Party's] archaeological heritage', with an emphasis on sites and 'the display to the public of suitable selections of archaeological objects', thus maintaining a top-down, absolutely controlled and material-focused approach. Questions such as 'important to whom', and 'suitable for what' remained unanswered.

The charters that followed focused on more specific aspects of public participation, through cultural tourism, the social values of cultural heritage and presentation and interpretation of cultural heritage. *The ICOMOS International Cultural Tourism Charter* (1999) constituted an effort to balance the frequently conflicting needs of tourists in the rapidly growing tourist industry with those of host communities.

The Council of Europe Convention on the Value of Cultural Heritage for Society, widely known as *The Faro Convention* (2005, currently open for ratification), constitutes a great leap ahead regarding understanding the relationship between the public and cultural heritage. It relates the individual right to engage with cultural heritage to the *United Nations Universal Declaration of Human Rights* (1948) and the *International Covenant on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights* (1966) and integrates it with notions of respect for diversity and reconciliation (article 7), sustainable development and management (articles 8,

9 and 10), extensive collaboration (article 11), access for all and participation in all stages of protection and conservation (article 12), education, training and inter-disciplinary research (article 13), and even in regard to digital technology (article 14). The fact that it renders assessment of Party adherence to the Convention accessible to the public constitutes a practical indication of its spirit (article 15). *The Faro Convention* thus places people and human values at the very centre of the concept of cultural heritage as a resource for sustainable development and quality of life (Preamble).

Finally, the *ICOMOS Charter on Presentation and Interpretation* (2008) further reinforces 'public communication as an essential part of the larger conservation process' (Preamble). In an effort to set appropriate goals for open and inclusive presentation and interpretation, *The Ename Charter*, as it is more widely known, raises the issues of physical as well as intellectual access (principle 1), the use of scientific evidence and living cultural traditions as sources for presentation and interpretation (principle 2), relevance to the broader setting, social, cultural, historical or natural (principle 3), authenticity (principle 4), sustainability (principle 5), inclusiveness in the process of presentation and interpretation (principle 6) and the importance of research, training and evaluation (principle 7). It is important to note that this charter discusses the above as principles that should direct local solutions, rather than provisions invented in a global context with little relevance with the local setting of heritage.

1.9 The Public in Archaeological Resource Management

The considerations discussed above soon came to inform the ways archaeological resources were managed through a discussion of the nature of values applied to monuments. The value debate emerged in the early part of the twentieth century (Riegl 1903) and was later integrated in archaeological

resource management as the 'value-based approach' (Australia ICOMOS 1999; Avrami *et al.* 2000; De la Torre *et al.* 2005; Lipe 1984; Mason and Avrami 2002; Sullivan 1997). Within archaeological management, receptiveness to the constant changes in social conditions and perspectives gained through integrated protection ensure the relevance of heritage and its conservation at any point in time (Avrami *et al.* 2000: 4).

A variety of value categories have been discussed within the literature in accordance to the approach taken. Riegl (1903) took an art historical approach and discussed categories such as 'age', 'historical', 'commemorative', 'use' and 'newness'. Later, Lipe (1984) re-worked this framework from an archaeological perspective and proposed 'economic', 'aesthetic', 'associative-symbolic' and 'informational' values. *The Burra Charter* (1999) emphasised the cultural significance of heritage and omitted 'economic' as a secondary value, only including in its schema 'aesthetic', 'historic', 'scientific' and 'social', including 'spiritual', 'political', 'national' and 'other cultural' in the last one. Finally, Mason (2002) suggested a bipolar schema comprised of 'socio-cultural' values, including 'historical', 'cultural/symbolic', 'social', 'spiritual/religious' and 'aesthetic', and 'economic' values, including those of 'use' and 'nonuse' values. It becomes obvious that these categories overlap and are not mutually exclusive, and the use of any value assessment framework and set of value definitions comes down to the individual.

The value-based approach aims at preserving the cultural significance of heritage, as this is determined by all the values attributed to it. As an approach, it is founded on the acknowledgement that multiple and often conflicting values are attributed to heritage and that the effective preservation of cultural significance is only achieved when these are balanced. It therefore raises the issues of *who* wants to preserve *what, why* and *how*. This is achieved through a

formal planning process that consists of stakeholder identification and involvement, documentation, values or cultural significance assessment and management assessment and it results in a management plan that documents the whole process (Demas 2002; Sullivan 1997).

1.10 Public Perceptions of Archaeology

It is clear from this that interest in the public perception of archaeology has emerged from several overlapping fields and been combined with interest in the public image of museums and the appreciation of heritage. Prince and Schadla-Hall (1985) raised the role of visitor and non-visitor attitudes and values surveys in museum management. They researched the public image of museums as a means of evaluating their non-quantifiable impact on people, and addressed the lack of similar research undertaken by museum professionals at the time (*idem*: 39-40). Their survey, conducted in museums in Hull, contrasted the overall positive image of museums as interesting and educational public institutions, with no directly recreational aims but intended rather to protect the heritage, and therefore a legitimate use of tax-payers' money, with more negative impressions such as that museums need to be more lively and offer visitors more things to do, and that they never changed and were only related to old things. It turned out that younger age groups (16 to 24 or up to 34 years old) were more demanding and least likely to agree that visiting a museum is something that they like to do (*idem*: 41). Non-visitors were shown to have a much more negative view of museums (*idem*: 42). In terms of improvements, again younger age groups expressed the wish that museums should be brighter, friendlier, include more media, offer workshops and make their displays more exciting (*idem*: 43). A low ranking of people's interest in archaeology and an inability to identify the location of the archaeological collections were also noted, and related to the, at the time,

generally observed failure of archaeology to appeal to the broader public (*idem*: 44, see also Prince and Schadla-Hall 1987).

The last point was taken up in another survey on the interest of the public in archaeology (Stone 1986). From the beginning, Stone raised the issue of the actual lack of appreciation on the part of archaeologists for the public, rather than just for their own social circle and already interested individuals. The survey aimed to understand how people's perception of the past is formed and what their archaeological interests, attitudes and awareness are (*idem*: 15). The difficulty of engaging participants because 'they claimed to have no knowledge of the past and thus felt that (s)he would be of no use' was noted (*idem*: 16). The responses to four questions upheld Stone's hypothesis that 'people share a basic interest in the past' (*idem*: 17-9). In short, he concluded that:

> If the basic interest shown above is to be maintained and developed then archaeologists must make their work, its excitement and their conclusions more readily available to the public (not in jargon-ridden verbosity, but in simple clear language) through outlets such as the media and education — both in schools […] and more generally (*idem*: 19).

Further interest in understanding public perception of the past and of museums was expressed soon after. With a nationwide survey, Merriman raised the issue that making museums accessible to all required a better understanding of visitor patterns, attitudes to museums and the past, and of other ways people chose to experience the past (2000 (1991): 2-4). His survey demonstrated that the majority of the people find knowledge of the past valuable, with their view of it relating clearly to their current social situation, and that they use the past in creative ways. He showed that people who were better educated and more

affluent than average visited museums more and that negative perceptions, attributed to historical connotations with power and authority, were still evident. In fact, he asserted that 'society can be divided up into those who see museum visiting as part of their culture, and those who reject it' (*idem*: 5).

Although more and more people were seen to be visiting museums, this was attributed to a vicious circle: museums' openness occurred because museum visiting was seen as improving the individuals' social status and thus enforced the social connotations of museums (Merriman 2000 (1991): 5). Thus, non-museum approaches to the past could reveal ways to open museums to a wider audience. For example, those people who do not undertake any activity in order to engage with the past were found to prefer personal, local and home-based ways of experiencing it (*idem*).

Merriman found that 79% of participants thought of the past as definitely worth knowing about, 12% as probably worthwhile, 6% perhaps and 4% as not worthwhile. Among them, the middle age group (35-59 years old) proved more enthusiastic in regard to knowledge of the past. Although the majority of all social status and age groups expressed definite belief in the value of knowing about the past, 9% of low status and over 60 years old participants stated that they did not find it worth knowing about (Merriman 2000 (1991): 22-3). The majority of participants stated that it is worth knowing about the past because of the usefulness of past knowledge in understanding the course humanity has taken up until the present and of its instructive potential for the future (*idem*: 24-5).

Merriman's survey also demonstrated the strong links between people's attitudes to the past and to the present. More specifically, the elderly seemed to maintain more positive impressions about the past than younger people did,

embellishing these with ideas of happiness, closer relationships and family ties and safety. At the same time, less privileged participants seemed to be more likely to view the past as an anxiety and disappointment-free period, and as a source of indirect criticism of the present, than did the more privileged ones (Merriman 2000 (1991): 29-34).

Merriman drew from previous surveys and summarised the most common overall features of visitors to British national and provincial museums as being male, students or members of the A, B and C1 classes[1], and either educated beyond the minimum school leaving age or still in full-time education (Merriman 2000 (1991): 43). Regarding his own survey, 17% of participants claimed that they visited museums three or more times a year (frequent visitors), 37% once or twice a year (regular), 14% last visited between one and four years ago (occasional), 14% last visited five or more years ago (rare) and 18% had never visited a museum (non-visitor) (*idem*: 49).

In regard to age, 35% of participants over 60 claimed to visit a museum at least once a year and half to have visited within the last four years. Merriman attributed the visiting pattern of participants over 60 to factors that restrict their mobility or to withdrawal from social activities due to old age and retirement (2000 (1991): 57-8). Out of all factors acting as constraints on museum visiting, the ones with greater statistical significance overall were the value attributed to the past, the attitude to museums, age (with negative effect), the image of the building, and education; all culturally defined (*idem*: 67-8).

[1] These are the upper middle, middle and lower middle classes according to the British demographic classification system.

In search of a comprehensive theoretical framework to explain visiting patterns, Merriman suggested a combination of psychological and cultural approaches (Merriman 2000 (1991): 75). The psychological approach was based on behavioural psychology and claimed that museum visiting is most powerfully determined by the individual's attitude to museums. Hood proposed six basic features of this attitude: 'being with people', 'doing something worthwhile', 'feeling comfortable and at ease in one's surroundings', 'having a challenge of new experience', 'having an opportunity to learn' and 'participating actively' (mentioned in *idem*: 76).

In a differentiation of this approach, Prince considered structural and social factors, such as the individual's stage of life and social class. According to him, museum visiting falls in the 'establishment' stage of life, when family-based leisure activities are preferred (Prince 1983: 243). Class-based leisure needs were also discussed, such as the claimed preference of working class individuals towards collective and passive holidays and a middle class preference towards constructive use of time (*idem*). Despite the value of highlighting attitudes as the main focus of explanation of museum visiting, the psychological approach cannot however fully explain observed attitudes because it disregards the political and ideological roots of museum visiting (Merriman 2000 (1991): 76-7).

The cultural approach is based on Bourdieu's notions of power, 'habitus' and distinction as developed in the context of his theory on the reproduction of power and privilege (Bourdieu 1977, 1984). According to this approach, hierarchical social relations are reproduced on the basis of 'misrecognition' of their oppressive foundations as enabled by symbolic power. Symbolic power is one of two mutually convertible forms of power, the other being economic power, that enable the unity of all fields of social life, i.e. culture and economy. Symbolic power is founded on the possession of 'cultural capital' itself

consisting of taste, manners and style, coming after adequate exposure to high culture and its material expressions, such as university degrees (Merriman 2000 (1991): 78).

Bourdieu's explanation of education as a mechanism that imposes an arbitrary set of values that reflect the interests of the dominant class in the maintenance of hierarchical social relations, and thus produces a culture of distinction between the cultivated and the non-cultivated, parallels his explanation of art museum attendance in Europe in the 1960s. In their survey of the latter, Bourdieu and Darbel found that better educated people constituted the majority of art gallery visitors and those social groups most represented in art galleries were also the least represented in the general population (Bourdieu and Darbel 1991: 15).

'Habitus' as 'a subjective but not individual system of internalised structures, schemes of perception, conception and action common to all members of the same group or class' (Bourdieu 1977: 86) explains why people are forced to not participate in an activity in which they feel that they have little competence, such as museum visiting (Merriman 2000 (1991): 80). On these grounds, Bourdieu challenges Kant's aesthetic theory that art can be appreciated for its own sake by the untrained and believes that "the richness of 'reception'…depends primarily on the competence of the 'receiver', in other words on the degree to which he or she can master the code of the 'message'" (Bourdieu and Darbel 1991: 38). In these terms, museum visiting operates in the same way as art and cultural practices do, as a mechanism of 'distinction'. Despite limitations in Bourdieu's explanation when applied to archaeological museums as opposed to art galleries, its tendency towards determinism and its temporal constraints, in combination with the psychological approach, it can

lead to a more comprehensive explanation of museum visiting and non-visiting (Merriman 2000 (1991): 81-2).

Surveys that focus to a greater extent on archaeology have been conducted more recently. As they have heavily influenced the survey work conducted for this research project, a more extensive discussion of their results is included here. Pokotylo and Guppy (1999) conducted a study in British Columbia, Canada, and following up on a previous survey in the same area, concluded that 'the public is highly interested in archaeology and concerned about protecting archaeological sites, but has a limited understanding of the nature and scope of archaeology, regional interpretations of prehistory, and awareness of current heritage conservation laws'. They investigated public opinion through a specific framework, which aimed at exploring what people know about the archaeological record and its interpretation, because they considered this to be a necessary but not sufficient condition for public support of archaeological activity. They then enquired about people's prioritisation of archaeology and about their participation in archaeological activities in order to address inconsistencies between knowledge and action. They also investigated participants' levels of awareness and support for public policies relevant to archaeological conservation. Finally, they were interested in how the public viewed native claims regarding research on their own heritage (Pokotylo and Guppy 1999: 401).

In order to investigate the cognitive aspect of participants' relationship to archaeology the question *what do you think of when you hear the word 'archaeology'* was asked. The researchers classified answers in five main groups: accurate (66.4%), reasonable (15.3%), 'earth science' — that is, in association with palaeontology (15.4%), romantic (2.6%) and Aboriginal (0.02%). They exempted from analysis 5.6% of participants who did not express an opinion and 2.3%

whose answers were considered unclear, cynical or said that they did not care (Pokotylo and Guppy 1999: 402). In comparison to Davis' and McManamon's categories of public interest in archaeology (romanticism, aesthetics, nature of human community, social roots and technical avocation, mentioned in *idem*: 402-3), the majority in Pokotylo and Guppy's survey fell into the 'nature of human community' and 'social roots' categories. Their research added the capturing of the belief that mistakes archaeology for palaeontology or geology. This misconception was revealed as a major feature in public (mis)understanding of archaeology in North America as 38% of answers to a previous survey by Mackinney (mentioned in *idem*: 403) and 52% of answers to their own previous survey demonstrate (*idem*).

When participants were asked to identify the disciplinary basis of archaeology, the majority (70.8%) placed it within history, 23.3% within science and 5.8% within art (Pokotylo and Guppy 1999: 402). Regarding its practitioners, participants believed that university and museum researchers conduct most of the archaeological work in British Columbia (65.4% and 38.9% respectively) with government researchers (6.6%), Aboriginal peoples (5.7%) and private consultants (4.1%) following. The results demonstrated that the public are unaware of the discipline's reality, where commercial cultural resource management has been conducting more archaeological work than the other practitioners (*idem*: 403).

In the question, *do you think that information on archaeological research is accessible to you*, 42.6% replied positively and 19.9% negatively, while 37.5% were in the middle of the scale, with a slight tendency towards accessibility (Pokotylo and Guppy 1999: 404-5). Regarding specific sources of information, museums turned out to be the most frequently mentioned, followed by television and then travel. Books and magazines were next, then secondary school and

college/university and lastly newspapers, primary school, movies and public lectures (*idem*: 405). For the question *how would you prefer to learn more about archaeology*, the same three sources came first: television (67.5%), travel (62%) and museums (57.7%). Then came books (34.5%), magazines (33.9%), education courses (24.4%), newspapers (22.8%), movies (19.5%) and last of all public lectures (16.5%) (*idem*: 405).

When asked to rate their own interest, 39.9% of participants in Pokotylo and Guppy's survey stated that they were interested in archaeology, compared with 24.5% who were not, clustering in the middle of the scale (35.5%) with a slight inclination towards the 'interested' side (Pokotylo and Guppy 1999: 405). In total, 90.7% participants stated that they had visited a museum with archaeological exhibits and 46.4% had visited an archaeological site while only 4% stated that they had participated in an archaeological excavation (*idem*: 405).

On the question whether archaeology is relevant in contemporary society, 61.3% answered positively and only 10.6% negatively, with 28% in the middle of the scale and a strong tendency towards the relevant side (Pokotylo and Guppy 1999: 406). Among sub-disciplines of archaeology, Classical archaeology was rated the most important (73.3%), while slightly lower was prehistoric archaeology and historic archaeology came a close third (*idem*: 406). On the question regarding the kinds of values archaeological objects have, scholarly values dominated but were balanced with humanistic and material ones. Educational value came first (95%), scientific second (87.6%), spiritual third (75.2%), monetary fourth (54.6%), aesthetic fifth (52.4%), political sixth (36.5%) and lastly the 'no value' answer (1.1%) (*idem*: 408).

Regarding awareness of archaeological legislation for protection, 68.2% were not sure if governments had laws in place for protection at the time of research,

5.2% stated that they did not, and only 26.6% stated that they did, thus demonstrating a high degree of ignorance (in total, 73.4%) in regard to legislation that had been in place since 1960 (Pokotylo and Guppy 1999: 410).

Based on public opinion studies regarding environmental issues, they cross-tabulated the answers to their survey with the educational level, age and gender of participants, in order to explain variation. According to such studies, people with higher education are expected to know more about archaeology and to be more concerned about conservation issues in comparison to those with less education. With regard to age, younger individuals are expected to value archaeological heritage preservation more. Lastly, in relation to gender, females are expected to express greater concern than males (Pokotylo and Guppy 1999: 412, with more references on environmental studies).

Pokotylo and Guppy combined answers to sets of questions to acquire indexes of knowledge, interest-participation, a comprehensive index of perceived importance and an awareness and support index. In regard to educational level, there were significant variations in all indexes across three educational levels (high school or less, technical-vocational post-secondary, and university level). More specifically, the knowledge and interest-participation indices increased with educational level. People with a technical-vocational education demonstrated the highest awareness and support for conservation and attributed the highest relevance to archaeology, with those with a university education following in both cases. Educational level also correlated significantly with monetary, political, aesthetic and spiritual values: while university graduates had the highest selection rate of these values, those with high school or lower education had the lowest (Pokotylo and Guppy 1999: 412-3).

Regarding age as divided in three groups (18 to 35, 36 to 50 and over 50 years old), it seems that knowledge and awareness-support increased significantly with age, while public interest and participation decreased significantly. The relevance of archaeology did not correlate significantly with age, while the association of educational value with archaeology also decreased significantly with age (Pokotylo and Guppy 1999: 413).

In relation to gender, females attributed significantly higher relevance to archaeology than males, significantly more males attributed political value to archaeology, while significantly more females attributed educational and spiritual values (Pokotylo and Guppy 1999: 413). It seemed that individuals most likely to understand and be concerned about archaeological heritage were female, middle aged or older, with some post-secondary education (*idem*: 414); the only significant difference with Merriman's museum visitor being the gender (see above).

The findings of Pokotylo and Guppy's survey revealed contradictions in public perceptions of archaeology with clear evidence to support their findings. On the one hand, there was general interest in archaeology and support for conservation efforts. On the other hand, archaeology was regarded as of little importance to the public, and most vital issues, such as the economic value of artefacts, indigenous stewardship and archaeological legislation, were misperceived (Pokotylo and Guppy 1999: 415). In spite of their effort to appreciate public perceptions, they insisted throughout their paper on the utilitarian use of such information in strengthening public support and acquiring resources for archaeological work, thus differentiating theirs from similar projects embedded in the social value of archaeology as a public resource and in the social responsibility of archaeologists to share this with the public. Furthermore, Pokotylo and Guppy stated that:

> The profession must address a critical credibility issue, given that a majority of the public do not believe archaeologists are the most knowledgeable interpreters of the archaeological record, if they are to be effective in their public education efforts (*idem*).

Thus, they expressed their belief in the authority and supremacy of archaeologists' interpretations, differentiating again their perspective from more socially attuned perspectives on archaeology.

On the same topic, a group of archaeological organisations commissioned a survey on public perception and attitudes to archaeology, its practice, its outcomes and its values in the US. Again the research framework was based on investigating awareness, perceptions and knowledge, interest and participation, importance and value and, finally, attitudes (Ramos and Duganne 2000: 3-4). The economic stake in the effort to capture public perceptions, with no further reference to the social value of archaeology as a public resource, is what distinguishes these North American approaches.

Although Ramos and Duganne did not utilise Pokotylo and Guppy's answer categories for the question *what comes to mind when you hear the word 'archaeology'?*, according to the breakdown they have presented in their publication, one could say that the majority provided accurate responses (e.g. 42%, 'digging', 'digging artefacts/things or objects from the past' and 'digging up bones'), 20% gave reasonable answers (e.g. 'history, heritage, and antiquity', 'ancient cultures and civilisations'), while 10% revealed misinterpretations such as 'dinosaurs/dinosaur bones' (Ramos and Duganne 2000: 11). The vast majority (96%) of answers to the question *what happens to things that are dug up or found by archaeologists* were accurate: among others 'donated/sold to museums/museum

researchers' (77%), 'studied and/or documented by researchers' (32%), 'given to labs and/or to researchers for study' (17%), 'put on display' (13%), 'given to universities/university researchers' (11%) and 'are preserved' (11%) (*idem*: 12-3). Among groups of people who conduct archaeological work, participants rated highest museums then universities, Native Americans, government agencies, private consulting firms and lastly private individuals (*idem*: 16).

Regarding the sources of knowledge on archaeology, first came popular media, such as television (56%), magazines (33%) and newspapers (24%), then came traditional methods, such as books and encyclopaedias (33%), secondary school (20%), college (23%) and primary school (10%). Last of all came public lectures (1%), historical or cultural events (1%) and participation in a dig or archaeological project (2%) (Ramos and Duganne 2000: 16-7). Regarding preferred methods of learning, they were more or less in agreement with the actual sources of learning: television (50%), magazines and periodicals (22%), books and encyclopaedias (21%), newspapers (11%) and hands-on environment (7%). Again very little interest was expressed in learning through local archaeological or historical societies (1%), historical or cultural events (1%) and preservation or conservation groups (0.1%) (*idem*: 18).

Their survey also demonstrated that overall people tended to be more interested than uninterested in archaeology, with interest rising among people who believed that archaeology is important and people who had visited an archaeological site (Ramos and Duganne 2000: 20). People visited archaeological museums (88%) more than archaeological sites (37%), out of which 12% had participated in an archaeological excavation, and far fewer had participated in an archaeological event (11%) (*idem*: 21). Regarding the reasons for visiting an archaeological site, 33% mentioned interest, 20% curiosity, 25% a

tour/vacation, 18% a visit in the area, 3% recreation, 7% living in the area and 7% had gone with school (*idem*: 22).

Regarding the importance of archaeology in today's society, participants tended to believe that it is very important. Females found it more important than males, and people between the ages of 18 and 34 felt that it is more important than people aged 55 and over (Ramos and Duganne 2000: 23). Regarding the value of archaeology, almost all of the participants stated that archaeology has educational and scientific value (99%), 94% also stated aesthetic and artistic value, 93% mentioned personal value and 88% spiritual value. Seventy-three per cent stated monetary value and 59% political value (*idem*: 25). Regarding awareness of current legislative measures, 28% knew of laws protecting archaeological sites, 22% of laws protecting shipwrecks, 24% unmarked human burials and 23% laws regulating the antiquities trade (*idem* 28).

This survey demonstrated that the American public understands, in broad terms and quite accurately, what archaeology is. Misunderstandings about the subject of study mainly evolve around the 'earth science perception', as discussed by Pokotylo and Guppy (see above), such as the inclusion of dinosaurs in the research interests of archaeologists. However, more detailed knowledge of archaeology or of what archaeologists do is neither sound nor apparent. Americans are interested in the past and believe that archaeology is both important and valuable to society in order to understand the present and improve the future. They support legislation for its protection, although with less conviction when this affects their own or public property (Ramos and Duganne 2000: 30-2).

A similar survey was conducted among undergraduate students in Australia in 2001 (Balme and Wilson 2004). Again, the research framework included

questions on knowledge of archaeology and of Australian archaeology in particular, sources of knowledge and interest in it, and finally, non-archaeological interpretations of the past (*idem*: 20). Although two students majored in archaeology and others may have attended archaeology as a minor course, a great variety of other majors were represented in the sample. The survey demonstrated that despite having a reasonably good idea of what archaeology is, the confusion with 'earth sciences' persisted (see above). Respondents related archaeological work mostly with Classical archaeology rather than indigenous or pre-Classical European pasts, an explanation being that the student body in the University of Western Australia was largely composed of Australians of European descent and therefore they tended to identify Classical archaeology more with their past. More than half stated that they were interested in archaeology and had even a vague idea of recent archaeological work, sites of cultural significance to Indigenous peoples as well as knowledge of for how long Australia has been populated (*idem*: 23-4).

Local perceptions of archaeology have come to the fore even more recently, through research into the relationship developed between local communities and specific archaeological projects. An example of this is the research conducted by Matsuda in the town of Somma Vesuviana in Italy. Matsuda proposed a schema to represent the stages in the development of locals' perception and understanding of the archaeological site. Based on participants' answers to the question *what do you think of the Villa?*, Matsuda reduced 778 answers to four categories according to the level of their development as ideas in regard to their contextualisation. He then suggested four stages, representing earlier stages of contextualisation, such as a phenomenological experience of the Villa (e.g. 'beautiful', 'impressive', stage A) and the recognition of the Villa as an archaeological site (e.g. 'much bigger than expected', stage B), and later stages of contextualisation such as the understanding of the Villa in its present

cultural, social and political context (e.g. 'great heritage in the area', stage C) and the interpretation of the Villa and surrounding area in its past context (e.g. 'could be the Villa of Augustus', stage D). The majority of participants did not go beyond stage B (632 out of 778) while very few contextualised the Villa in the past (31 out of 778) (Matsuda 2009: 186-200).

Overall, Matsuda demonstrated that socio-cultural factors as well as attachment with locality explained the locals' visiting patterns to the site. Locals' perceptions of the site were largely formed through their own experience. Stakeholders' approaches depended on their own interest in the site, and the presence of an ongoing project affected the local community's multifaceted engagement with the site. Finally, Matsuda argued that archaeologists should try to understand their public as they are reaching out for it and that public archaeology is more effective when it is practiced as action research (Matsuda 2009: 403-6).

1.11 Conclusions

The developments discussed in this chapter effectively resulted over recent time in the realisation that there is no single monolithic past for all but that the past is experienced and interpreted in different ways by the vast majority of people. Thus what might be termed conventional archaeological approaches to the past constitutes only one legitimate approach, one that is constantly challenged by interpretations valued by other groups. This recognition has helped archaeologists recognise the end of the authority and exclusivity of the hegemonic discourse applied by Western scholarship. It has also brought on the acceptance of a far richer range of interpretations and approaches to the past and its material culture as part of living traditions, and has therefore assumed greater relevance to the present than ever before.

These developments contribute constantly to the broadening of public archaeology in fields that are occasionally difficult to distinguish from one another. Researchers spend a lot of energy on re-adapting these ideas to concerns from similar fields (e.g. social anthropology and ethnography). Although they contribute to bringing archaeology and the public closer, it is still questionable whether these new developments are any more relevant to the public than traditional archaeology has been so far.

CHAPTER TWO. ARCHAEOLOGICAL RESOURCE MANAGEMENT IN GREECE

2.1 Politics, Economics, Legislation and Administration

2.1.1 Introduction

This chapter is an historical overview and a critical analysis of the development of archaeological resource management in Greece from the foundation of the Greek state up to the present day. All countries have slightly differing approaches and histories in this field, the case of Greece is particularly complex and the current state of play can only be understood if the role of the past in its modern history is clear.

The political, economic, legislative and administrative contexts that archaeology is practiced in are interrelated and influence one another mutually. In this chapter they are presented under separate headings in line with the structure of the thesis. While, politics, legislation and administration are investigated from the emergence of the Greek state until today, the discussion of economics concentrates on more recent years, for which data is readily available. Additionally, this discussion relates to archaeology as both a discipline and as a system of archaeological resource management as developed in modern times. Pre-existing relationships and indigenous archaeologies as Hamilakis has called them (2008), are here only considered in relation to administration and bureaucracy (see 2.1.5).

2.1.2 The Greek Politics of the Past

The relationship modern Greeks have developed with the past and with archaeology was first formulated in the eighteenth century in the context of two

interdependent factors: the socio-political changes taking place on the Greek peninsula and the European cultural and political developments of the time, mainly Hellenism[2] and the balance between the Great Powers (Demaras 1977; for a list of important dates in modern Greek history see Appendix I). The examination of the historical circumstances within which the Greek state emerged and its early development are critical to the understanding of the reasons and the ways the past was used to support the political claim for independence and the shaping of the perceptions of the past by modern Greeks (Skopetea 1988). It is essential to investigate the Eighteenth century, known in Greek national historiography as the century of *'national awareness'* (Svoronos, 1994: 51; regarding the theoretical implications of the term, see Kitromilides 2003: 55-71) and of the *'Neohellenic Enlightenment'* (Demaras 1977).

The Seeds of the Emerging Greek Nation State

The relatively stable conditions in the declining Ottoman Empire in the eighteenth century allowed for the flourishing activity of Greek commerce in connection with markets of central Europe, where colonies were soon established by the Greek merchant class, for example in Amsterdam, Vienna, Odessa, Marseille and elsewhere. The socio-economic conditions of the orthodox communities improved, new urban centres developed and Greek became the *lingua franca* of the Balkan Peninsula (Svoronos 1994: 51-3). This emerging merchant class supported the educational revival of Greek-speaking orthodox communities by funding schools, libraries and publishing houses and by disseminating the ideas of the European Enlightenment and French Revolution, the writings of Locke, Voltaire, Rousseau and Diderot, which

[2] The term 'Hellenism' is used in the way Morris defined it (1994: 11) as 'the idealisation of ancient Greece as the birthplace of a European spirit' that was developed in the context of the quest of Europeanness and prevailed in the eighteenth century.

contributed to an intellectual revitalisation, known as the *'Neohellenic Enlightenment'* (1774-1821) (Demaras 1977: 1-6). The idea of antiquity as a model of free thought and individual dignity, as opposed to the dark times of the Ottoman occupation, ensured a return to the classics and an appreciation of the Classical past through the eyes of *'Enlightened Europe'* and Hellenism.

Adamantios Korais (1748-1833) was one of the most eminent figures of the *'Neohellenic Enlightenment'*, whose work superseded its boundaries. He was the son of a merchant and he lived in Amsterdam and in Montpellier from where he edited the *Helliniki Vivliothiki* (Greek Library), a series that aimed to acquaint the people with Classical writers, with a preface in each of its volumes dedicated to issues of education and culture in contemporary Greece. His extensive preoccupation with the Greek revival led him in 1807 to 13 suggestions on measures that the Ecumenical Patriarchate should implement to safeguard manuscripts and monuments all over the Greek lands; this was the first clearly articulated proposal for the protection of heritage in the soon to be founded state (Kokkou 1977: 27-31).

The formation of a national movement for independence from the declining Ottoman Empire led to war in 1821. The merchants were one of the groups most concerned with overthrowing the Ottoman authority because of its unpredictability and uncertainty. However, it is doubtful how and if this discontent was transformed into political action and whether the most successful members of this class were in fact willing to challenge the existing system (Clogg 1973: 10-16).

Hellenism and Philhellenism

It was at this time that J.J. Winckelmann (1717-68), known as the 'father of

archaeology', created the basis for the idea of Hellenism. At a time when interest in Classical art and architecture culminated and the race for collections started, his *History of Art in Antiquity* (*Geschichte der Kunst des Altertums*, 1764) associated the stylistic phases of Classical Greek art with stages in the spiritual, cultural and political development of ancient Greece. It was this idea of the relationship between political liberty and artistic excellence that led to the idealization of the golden Classical age and to Hellenism (Potts 1994). The notion that the fount of the European spirit was located in ancient Greece as idealised by current scholarship developed in the context of the quest to define a European identity and prevailed in the eighteenth century (Morris 1994: 11). This notion determined in a reflective way the identity, perceptions of the past and the political future of the inhabitants of what had been defined since antiquity as Greek land.

The resulting increase in demand for information about Greece and its Classical past was satisfied by visits to the monuments as travelling conditions in the region improved, and Greece became included in the Grand Tour of the English aristocracy. The notes and sketches from the travels of Jacques Carrey (1674), Jacob Spon (1675-6), James Stuart with Nicholas Revett (1751-53) and others, remain invaluable sources regarding the condition of Greek monuments in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. The influence of their work on their contemporaries was considerable, and scholars, antiquarians and travellers looked to Greece for examples of the Hellenic ideal that Winckelmann had championed (Potts 1994). Poetry, literature, art and folk studies became means of communicating news to the rest of Europe about the heroic resistance of the Greeks (e.g. Comte de Choiseul-Gouffier's *Voyage pittoresque de la Grèce* (1782-1812), Lord Byron's *Childe Harold* (1818), J.F.C. Hoelderlin's *Hyperion or the Hermit in Greece* (1797-9), Eugène Delacroix's *The Massacre of Chios* (1824), and Claude Fauriel's *Chants populaires de la Grèce Moderne* (1824)). Shelley's famous

proclamation *'we are all Greeks'* illustrated this spirit most eloquently (Tsigakou 1981: 48).

The Philhellenic movement stemmed from these influences, as a multi-dimensional expression of Hellenism. Individuals from a range of different cultural and political ideologies became Philhellenes, and they provided material, ethical and political support for the Greek War of Independence by lobbying in political and diplomatic circles in Bern, Zurich, Stuttgart, Hamburg, Frankfurt, Munich, Paris and other cities. The notion prevailed that this war was different from any other revolutionary movement because it aimed at the restitution of Classical civilization and its glory (Vakalopoulos 1979: 168-9, 172, 175).

At the same time, the foundation of national museums in the European capitals and their American counterparts, combined with their competitive relationships, accelerated the race for Classical antiquities collections. Foreign missions arrived in Greece in order to collect, and before long sculptures from Aegina and Bassae came to enrich the new *Glyptothek* in Munich and the British Museum respectively. The latter soon acquired sculptures from the Athens Parthenon temple, from Xanthus, Asia Minor, and part of the Mausoleum of Halicarnassus, again in Asia Minor (Shanks 1995: 44).

The struggle against the Ottoman occupation, the Philhellenic movement, the *'Neohellenic Enlightenment'* and the *sine-qua-non* condescending policy of the European forces were all factors that favoured the foundation of the Greek State. The First National Assembly proclaimed the country's independence with the First Constitution of Greece in 1822. Conflicts with the armed forces of the Ottoman Empire lasted for approximately 10 years. In the meantime, three civil wars took place and a series of 'Temporary Governments' and

'Revolutionary Constitutions' were created to regulate and represent the hostile parties (Clogg 1992).

The Role of the Past in Macedonia

However, circumstances were not the same in all parts of the country. It took almost another century and two Balkan Wars (1912 and 1913) before a great part of Macedonia,[3] where two of this project's case studies lie, was to be integrated with Greece (Clogg 1992). Among other reasons, the varied background of its Christian populations along with large numbers of Ottoman and Jewish inhabitants cast Macedonia's right to inclusion in the nation's territory in doubt (Koliopoulos 1997: 43-4; Mackridge and Yannakakis 1997: 4-7). Athanasios Psalidas (1767-1829), an Epirote *savant* and geographer, was uncertain of whether the land should be considered part of the national domain:

> Macedonia is well known for King Philip and his son Alexander the Great. Now, however, the land is base, because it is inhabited by base people. It is rich in grain, wine, silk, cotton and other products. Learning, however, has completely vanished, and its inhabitants are Bulgars, Turks and a few Greeks and Vlachs, who came from Albania (quoted in Koliopoulos 1997: 43).

Although men known as *'Olympians'*, *'Naousaians'* and *'Berrhoeans'*, named after place-names of the area, fought in the War for Independence, took part in some of the National Assemblies that followed it and even rose against the Ottomans in their own lands, half a century passed before Charilaos Trikoupis, a politician with little association with irredentist ideas, declared in Parliament

[3] The term 'Macedonia' refers to the province of northern Greece.

that Greece could never achieve complete national statehood without Macedonia (1885). The Balkan Wars were won with the participation of people from all over Greece (Koliopoulos 1997: 44).

A Greek Macedonian identity was established in a remarkably short period after 1912, something that was in part achieved through efforts to explore the Greek past of the area (Mackridge and Yannakakis 1997: 1). Nevertheless, the contest over Macedonian identity that broke out in the 1990s between Greece and the Former Yugoslavic Republic of Macedonia (FYROM) has made identity matters highly sensitive in Greece and once more brought the relationship between Greeks in that area and the rest of the country to the fore. Conservative writers exaggerate the significance of sports fans in southern Greece maligning teams and fans from Macedonia as *Paliovoulgari*, or 'goddamn Bulgarians', and attribute an assumed success of FYROM's irredentist politics in Macedonia to what they consider to be the low mental and cultural level of the inhabitants of Macedonia, and to the fact that in their opinion, other Greeks consider them to be of secondary and tertiary importance (Nomikou, quoted in Karakasidou 1993: n. 28, 24).

The distinctive nature of the region, characterised by its near exclusion from the European notion of Hellenism, its sparse mention by Classical writers and consequent lack of significant excavations, have rendered Macedonia as the archaeological 'Other' of southern Greece, with the effect that it remained relatively unstudied until later in Greek history (Kotsakis 1998: 45-7).

Returning to the role of research of the past in the formation of a Greek identity, the Archaeological Service[4] founded an Ephorate of Antiquities fifteen days after the Greek army took over the city of Thessaloniki (November 1912). A month later another Ephorate was founded in the town of Elassona and six months later a third one in the town of Florina (Vokotopoulou 1986: 1-2). Later that year the General Director of Macedonia addressed a circular to the people of the territories recently annexed by Greece to encourage them to abstain from trading in antiquities, which had been common during the Ottoman rule but was now illegal according to the law of the Greek state (*idem*: 4, 28-9). At the time, in the midst of infrastructure and development works, there was a constant struggle to ensure protection and conservation, to acquire and restore monuments that had been used as mosques, air-raid shelters and temporary refugee accommodation, and to set up a permanent museum. The Archaeological Museum was eventually inaugurated in 1962 during the 50th anniversary celebrations of the city's integration with Greece (*idem*: 17).

In 1913, the General Directorate of Macedonia founded on paper the Byzantine Museum of Thessaloniki (Mayropoulou-Tsioumi 1986: 72). The museum was inaugurated in 1994, 81 years later. In the meantime, Byzantine antiquities from Thessaloniki and the rest of northern Greece were sent to the Byzantine Museum of Athens, founded in 1914. In 1920, an Ephorate of Byzantine Antiquities was founded in Thessaloniki (*idem*: 69). Finally, in 1942 the Second Regional Administration of Medieval and Byzantine Antiquities was established with responsibility for Macedonia, Thrace and Thessaly. Its first

[4] 'Archaeological Service' is the generic term used in Greece to describe all of the departments of the Ministry of Culture and Tourism, either based in the Ministry in Athens (Directorates) or in other cities all over Greece (Ephorates), which are responsible for the protection and conservation of antiquities as these are defined by the law (see 2.1.4). For a detailed description of the Service see 2.1.5.

Director, Stylianos Pelekanides (1943-1962) reported immediately on the lack of resources and infrastructure (*idem*: 72-5).

The Foreign Schools, the Archaeological Society in Athens and, from 1926, the University of Thessaloniki, now conducted archaeological research in Macedonia. Many excavations that examined the character of the area's culture in the past were initiated during that period: in Pella by G. Oikonomos (1914-5), in Amphipolis by Pelekides (1920) and later by Lazarides (1956-61 and 1964-5), in Dion by G. Soteriadis (1928-31), in Vergina by Andronikos (1952-3 and 1957-61) and in Philippi by Pelekanides (1958-64, 1966) (Petrakos 1987b: 120, 131, 134, 140-1, 156-8, 172, 182-3).

The finds from the excavation of the Great Tumulus in Vergina by Professor Andronikos in 1977 once and for all shook the quiet waters of archaeology in the area. The high artistic quality and the richness of the material found led to the association of the burial with the royal family of the Kingdom of Macedonia and more specifically, King Philip the Second, father of Alexander the Great. The discovery was met with hitherto unprecedented national and international attention. It also impacted on the course that archaeological work in the area had followed previously; research in the area altered drastically in terms of financial support, numbers of projects taken up, and attention by the press and the media, with 'a feeling that there was a shift of archaeological research to the north' (Kotsakis 1998: 53).

There was an obvious impact on the public perception of the discipline due both to the political implications of the discovery, and to the admiration for the artistic and material quality of the finds. The term *'Vergina syndrome'* was coined to describe a 'particular pathology in the process of archaeological work production', the 'treasure-hunting excitement', where 'the archaeological value,

that is the historical importance or significance are overshadowed by the hymnology of the valuable material or the form' (Zoes 1990: 105-10). The fact that when the exhibition of the Vergina finds moved from the Archaeological Museum of Thessaloniki to the purpose built Museum of the Royal Tombs in Aiges, the exhibition that replaced it was *The Gold of the Macedonians* is significant (Grammenos 2007: 9-10).

In 1987, an annual conference on the archaeological work in Macedonia and Thrace was established, an initiative that marked the 'coming of age' of archaeology in the area, was soon after followed by other regions and represents a step further in its emancipation from southern Greece. In their inaugural speeches archaeologists and local politicians described the distinctive framework of archaeological practice in Macedonia. The timely, correct and responsible presentation of the results of the archaeological work to experts and the public was emphasised. Announcing the assured funding of archaeological work, the Minister of Macedonia and Thrace made sure to stress that:

> We will keep steadily supporting your work morally and materially. We believe that beyond their value as a medium of aesthetic and intellectual cultivation of our people…[your finds are] the most valid interpreter of the essence and uniqueness of Greek history. So I think that we must sensitise our people, for historical consciousness to function within them. And the way within which they have to approach all these unique masterpieces of ancient art, to constitute, in the end, not simply an aesthetic approach, but a spiritual participation… We need this historical function of art especially more than any other time to respond to all the attempted forgery of our history on an international scale (Papathemelis 1988: xvi).

In an overview, Mayropoulou-Tsioumi noted that the problems were more or less the same in 1985 as they had been at the foundation of the Ephorate in Thessaloniki. On the positive side, she acknowledged the inauguration of the Museum of Byzantine Culture, the extensive and scientific restorations that followed the earthquake in 1978, which owed their success to the staffing of the Archaeological Service with experts from all necessary fields, and finally the media promotion and increasing awareness of the public in regard to archaeological issues (Mayropoulou-Tsioumi 1986: 76).

The Role of the Past After the Foundation of the Greek State

More recently, research has been undertaken to investigate the role and the conditions in which antiquity and archaeology have been called to play in later periods, and in cases other than nation building, based on the idea of antiquity as symbolic capital (Hamilakis and Yalouri 1996). Examples of this are the role Greek antiquities and archaeology has played in international politics, with the Foreign Schools as major agents. This has included the great excavations of the nineteenth and twentieth centuries (regarding Olympia, see Marchand 1996; regarding Delphi, see Picard 1992; regarding the Athens Agora, see Sakka 2008) and also the role of specific political personalities, such as the Kaiser's interventions in the excavations conducted by the Archaeological Society at Athens in Corfu (Kalpaxis 1993) and the activity of the Pergamon Museum in Samos (Kalpaxis 1990).

The Greek state has also not been immune to the political use of archaeology. Greek governments had been leveraging the granting of research permits to foreign missions under special terms and conditions in order to advance political claims even before the state's international recognition. The Constitution of Troezene (1827) even made special provision for the export of

antiquities for educational and research purposes to serve the French Scientific Mission of the Morea (1829) (Kokkou 1977: 49-50).

Kapodistrias suggested in 1829 that the Greek government should allow the export of antiquities if a significant advantage for the country was at stake and the ceding of antiquities in exchange for 'things valuable and unavoidably necessary for the public education, such as books, astronomy instruments, geological instruments, machine models etc.' and also proposed the exchange of antiquities for weapons. However, these suggestions were perceived as violating the Constitution and contributed to shortening the period of Kapodistrias' office and life (Kalpaxis 1990: 18, 20; Protopsaltis 1967: 93-4).

Greek archaeologists have both consciously and willingly allowed their work to be used even for irredentist politics in the twentieth century. Davis has described two archaeological expeditions conducted in Asia Minor and Albania that had direct implications for the state's plans for territorial expansion (2000). At the same time as these expeditions were taking place, archaeologists 'at home' were preparing the celebrations for the Centenary of the Greek state, which included a ceremony to mark the completion of restoration works at the Acropolis, a flag ceremony adapted from the Panathenaic procession, ancient re-enactments and other antiquity-related events (Markatou 2008). In the last thirty years in particular, archaeology has played a central role in the so-called 'Macedonian issue' due to the association of the funerary monuments of Vergina with the King of Macedon Philip the Second (see above, Hamilakis 1999, 2007: 125-67; Kotsakis 1998).

The dictatorial regimes of Ioannis Metaxas (1936-41) and the Colonels' Junta (1967-74) used antiquity to legitimise their authority and to be included in the nation's narrative with connotations of glory (Hamilakis 2007: 169-204;

Kokkinidou and Nikolaidou 2004). Furthermore, the Classical paradigm was used to conform the political views of left-wing conscripts in the concentration camp in Makronisos (1947-57), known as the 'New Parthenon' while the political discourse of the left used the same paradigm to refute the state's oppressive tactics (Hamilakis 2003, 2007: 205-41).

The use of antiquity's authority by the Left to challenge state oppression is not the only case of the dominant discourse on antiquities and their authority being appropriated by subordinate groups in order to express resistance and reaction. The Acropolis, for instance, the most iconic monument of Greek antiquity, has been caught in the centre of disputes between government politics and left parties, trade unions of the Ministry of Culture and Tourism and of more personal stories of protest or abandonment (Yalouri 2001).

With the exception of nationalist politics of any level, the political relevance of antiquities has been restricted to issues of identity. More recently, antiquities and archaeology have surfaced in the public sphere through the exhibits of excavation finds from the construction of the Athens metro, being displayed at its various stations (Hamilakis 2001), the use of *tableaux vivants* inspired by ancient art spanning from the earlier civilizations in the area to modern times being used to celebrate the opening of the 28th Athens Olympics in 2004 (Hamilakis 2007: 1-33; Plantzos 2008), and the much-awaited opening of the New Acropolis Museum. These occasions distilled national pride by demonstrating *what the nation is capable of*. The issue of the return of the Parthenon Marbles gains and loses momentum according to the occasion.

Finally, the national mission attributed to the discipline has had further implications for its own development. Classical archaeology with its eclectic relations to the Classical past, national and European identity, has dominated in

all respects with its traditional approaches, isolating the rest of the discipline from developments in world archaeology, and thus marginalising it (Kotsakis 1991, 1998, 2002; Sakellariadi 2010; Shanks 1995; Snodgrass 1987).

2.1.3 Economics

A constant thread in the debate about the management of the archaeological resource is that the state invests too few financial resources in it. This is predominantly considered to be the biggest problem of Greek archaeological management today. An investigation of the state's budgetary data demonstrates the place of the Ministry of Culture and Tourism in the state's overall agenda.

Regarding regular budget allocation, out of 19 ministries the one responsible for culture comes 12th in 1999, 2000 and 2007 and 13th from 2001 to 2006. Its expenses represent 0.01% or less of the state's primary expenses (Ministry of Finances 2011). For the Programme of Public Investments (PDE) (*idem*) however, the picture is more varied, especially considering the increase in funding during preparation for the 2004 Athens Olympics. At the same time, the 3rd Community Support Framework (CSF) funded many projects for the enhancement of archaeological sites and the renovation of museums. [5] The final amount invested reached €776,704,572 (Operational Programme 'Culture' 2011).

A comparison with PDE funds invested in the Ministry of Environment, Land Planning and Public Works, the most highly funded of all ministries throughout the period (1999-2007), eloquently demonstrates the factors

[5] Works, such as monument restoration for reasons of legibility by the general public, accessibility, visitor services and information infrastructure, signage through visual means and informative text, and publication of guidebooks, maps and CD-ROMs are usually defined as enhancement works.

contributing to political relevance and prioritisation, as well as the official approach to development (figure 1). It also demonstrates the power balance between the two ministries, especially in the case of protection of archaeological resources during major public works.

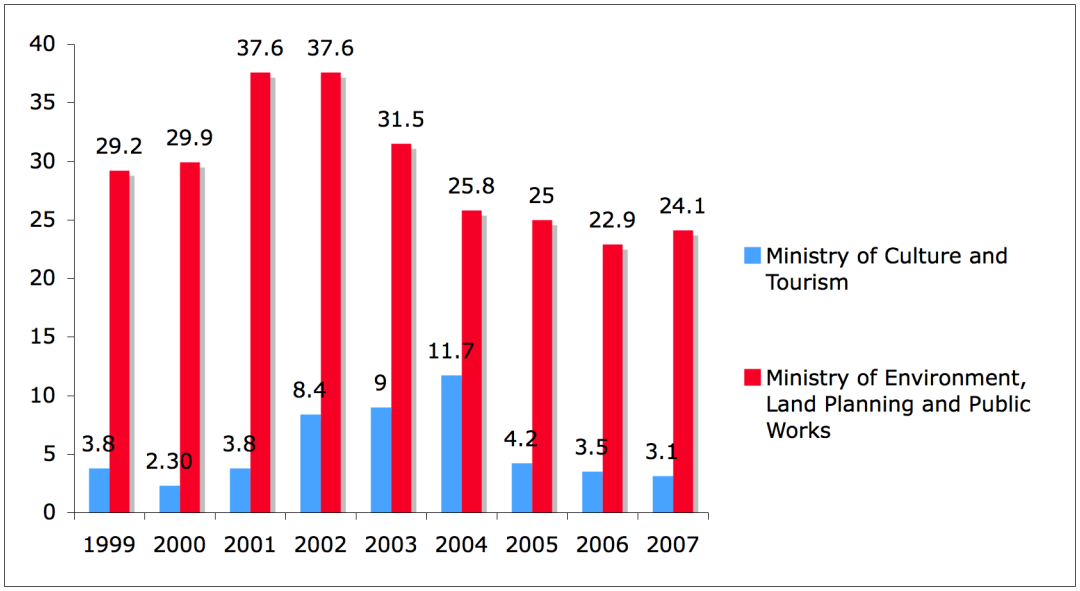

Figure 1 Funds provided by the Public Investments Programme (PDE) in million euros (Ministry of Finances 2011)

Third CSF funding is the culmination of three decades of EU-derived funding since 1981, when the country entered the EU. The Archaeological Service was presented with unprecedented possibilities and at the same time, demands. All projects were however completed with positive results in all evaluative indicators, such as degree of absorption of funds, level of completion of the project, abiding with legal procedures and positive impact on broader economic and social environments (Mastrantonis 2008: 27).

The tripling of its financial resources had more than financial implications, and the Archaeological Service was forced to adapt to the added demands of the administrative rules and procedures of the 3rd CSF, thus influencing their administrative culture and forcing them into a set organisational framework.

This resulted in the introduction of project management in archaeological works, despite initially negative reactions from both ends of the spectrum: project management consultants, who saw archaeological work as too undisciplined and unpredictable, and archaeologists, who feared the humanistic aspect of their work being regulated by technocratic procedures. Admittedly, there is still an ambiguous relationship between both sides because neither embraced the other positively at the beginning (Mastrantonis 2008: 27). This has been perpetuated by the slow integration of archaeological resource management as a distinctive field within the discipline of archaeology in Greece.

According to the law, the budget of any public work or any private work that exceeds €587,000 has to cover the cost of potentially necessary rescue archaeological work. As a result funds for archaeological works conducted as part of major public works by the Ministries of Environment, Land Planning and Public Works and of Transportation in the period from 1992 to 2002 exceeded €100 billion (Mendoni 2004: 463). In the 1990s, archaeological works also drew funds from lottery receipts. Legal premises regarding cultural sponsorship have now replaced this measure (see 2.1.4). Finally, the Archaeological Society in Athens, the Ministry of Education, regional Ministries such as the General Secretary of Macedonia and Thrace, and local administrations have also been subsidising archaeological research.

Another aspect of the economic context within which archaeological resource management is practiced is the increasing importance of tourism as the main driver for economic development. The potential contribution of archaeological resources to tourist development raises expectations for further funding among archaeologists.

However, very little research has been conducted and a lot less action has been taken on the actual or potential contribution of archaeological resources to tourist development in Greece. A study conducted by economic and tourist development experts for the Academy of Athens lacks in an in-depth, holistic and realistic approach. As archaeologists were absent from this work, it is unsurprising that the authors consider the 'usual bad relationship between managers of cultural heritage, marketing people and the scientists of the field' to be the greatest problem for the implementation of strategic planning in cultural tourism (Academy of Athens 2006: 64). Further research conducted by archaeologists has not yet been implemented at any level (Liwieratos 2004, 2009).

2.1.4 Legislation

A series of measures for the protection of antiquities, nominal or substantial, were enacted during the War of Independence (1821-29). The Temporary Administration of Eastern Greece placed the protection of antiquities under the responsibility of its Director of Politics. The General Secretary of the Administration protested in writing against the looting of antiquities from the island of Melos by the Dutch Colonel Roittiers in 1825 (Kokkou 1977: 34, 38-41). In 1825 the Minister of Internal Affairs of the Central Administration tasked the Director of Education with the collection of scattered antiquities from every region in schools, so that every school had a museum and curatorial duties were assigned to teachers (Gazi 1993: 64).

In 1827 the National Assembly in Troezene adopted the Second Constitution and elected the first President of the country, Ioannis Kapodistrias (Clogg 1992: 41-5). This Constitution contained an article that prohibited the export of antiquities and encouraged people to surrender their finds to the local

authorities. The same article was included in the 1829 revision (Kokkou 1977: 34, 38-41). A Director of the National Museum was appointed in 1829. The National Museum consisted of piles of scattered ancient remains hosted in the Orphanage House in Aegina, the first capital of the state. No Archaeological Service existed. The Presidential Decree no. 953 (1830) became the first archaeological legislative document (*idem*: 50-4).

This was followed by the first archaeological law in the Greek State, ratified in 1834 (*'About scientific and technological collections, about the discovery and conservation of antiquities and their uses'*, 10/22 May 1834 in Petrakos 1982: 123-41). This piece of legislation was drafted by Georg Ludwig von Maurer, an eminent law scholar and historian and A. Weissenburg, an architect who was appointed General Director of Antiquities, and has defined the basis for archaeology ever since (Petrakos 1987a: 55-6).

The law stated that 'all antiquities inside Greece, because they are works of the ancestors of the Greek people, are regarded as the national possession of all the Greeks in general' (article 61). The foundation for state property rights was set. 'All ruins remaining on or underneath national land, on the bottom of the sea, rivers or public streams, lakes or swamps, or other archaeological artefacts, of any name, are property of the State' (article 62). The legislation was still flexible on the issue of property rights acknowledging private ownership of antiquities on private land. 'Private property is all private collections or antiquities remaining in private property, all ruins on private land or underneath…' (article 63). However the possibility for the state to exercise further rights from then on was ensured: 'Those on private land or underneath, in walls or under ruins or lying in any other way, discovered after the existence of this law, half belong to the state…' (article 64). The export of antiquities without government permit was prohibited (article 76) and nobody was allowed to attempt to

excavate private or other property without a permit (article 100) (Petrakos 1982: 123-35).

In the spirit of Hellenism, Maurer believed that 'the Greek antiquities…have above all for the Kingdom of Greece huge political importance…because the idea of ancient Greece was that inspired the entire Europe in this so big interest about the fight of the heroes of Modern Greece' (quoted in Voudouri 2003: 18-9). The law was modelled on Vatican State legislation dealing with antiquities (Petrakos 1987a: 55). The premise of this legislation is extremely reminiscent of the public debate about the regime that would suit the nation's needs. Within it, Napoleon's dictum 'everything for the people, nothing by the people' was popular (Koliopoulos and Veremis 2002: 11-46) and a dictum that was to be fulfilled by the next archaeological law to come.

The failure across Greece to recognise and act within the law was frequently reported in the archaeological journals of the time (for a list of references from the *Praktika tis Archaiologikis Etaireias*, see Gazi 1993: 53). A new archaeological law (24 July 1899, 2646/1899 in Petrakos 1982: 141-51) was promulgated to remedy the situation. Law no. 2646/1899 determined the protection of antiquities for more than a century because its basic premises were included in 1932 in a codification of laws and decrees issued in the meantime (5351/1932 in *idem*: 152-70) and it effectively remained in use until 2002 (*idem*: 21). This law introduced the absolute right of the state to the possession of all antiquities, a condition that remains in force and is considered the cornerstone for the protection of antiquities and *raison d' être* for the Archaeological Service itself. 'All antiquities in Greece, no matter where they lie, in public or private property, movable or non movable, from the most ancient time and onwards, are state property' (article 1). The right to compensation for landowners was also established (*idem*: 21-2, 141-51).

The law of 1899 has been regarded as the 'enlightened foundation' of the Archaeological Service by eminent Greek archaeologists (Karouzos mentioned in Petrakos 1982: 34). Panayiotis Kavvadias, the legislator, was one of the most influential figures of early Greek archaeology. He had already been General Director of Antiquities for 14 years in 1899, and enjoying the favour of the Royal Court, he organised the structure of the Service by this law, which reflected his systematic thinking and authoritarian approach. Although he was highly esteemed by his foreign colleagues for the successful and efficient fulfilment of his duties, he was not very popular with Greek archaeologists. On the occasion of the army-backed coup in Goudi (Athens) in 1909, many Directors of Ephorates demanded and succeeded in getting his removal from the post of the General Director (*idem*: 57-9).

In 1932, the law of 1899 and others that had been issued in the meantime[6] were brought together in the codified legal text 5351/1932 *On Antiquities* (Petrakos 1982: 152-70). The codification mainly dealt with the issue of ownership, and expanded protection to the medieval period without stating a *terminus ante quem* (Skoures and Trova 2003: 12). It was regarded as 'absolutely concise, flexible and satisfactory' because it contained gaps that allowed for freedom of action. At the same time though, these gaps and case-by-case decision-making exposed antiquities and their management to criticism and caused great problems (Venizelos in Trova 2004: 10). It has also been critiqued on the grounds of its 'archaeocentric' founding spirit and the insufficiency of its penal measures (Recommendation Report for Law no. 3028/2002, mentioned in Skoures and Trova 2003: 58).

[6] Laws 5351, ΒΧΜΣΤ, 2447, 491, 4823, and Legal Decree of 12/16 June 1926

Despite its weaknesses and taking into consideration the tremendous social and economic changes from the 1950s onwards, the results of its implementation can be regarded as satisfactory as it has contributed to the safeguarding of a lot of antiquities. In addition, many efforts were made to limit its effect over the last forty years because of the obstacles it posed to construction and industrial development. It remained in use until 2002, although some of its articles were not even compatible with the 1975 Constitution (Petrakos 1982: 26-8).

In 1950, Law no. 1469, *On the Protection of a Special Category of Buildings and Works of Art*, extended protection to monuments dated after 1830, responding to Greek introspection after defeat in Asia Minor (Petrakos 1982: 171-3; Skoures and Trova 2003: 13) A series of decrees and Supreme Court decisions were issued to confront problems that arose from changing conditions or that had not been taken into consideration initially (Trichilis 1990).

The current Constitution, ratified in 1975, was the first to refer to the protection of the natural and cultural environment (Skoures and Trova 2003: 9). In 2001, the relevant article was rephrased as follows:

> The protection of the natural and cultural environment constitutes an obligation of the state and everyone's right. For its safeguarding, the state is obliged to take preventive and repressive measures in the frame of the principle of sustainability (article 24, par. 1, The Constitution of Greece 2010: 38).

This individual right to protection has provided fundamental support for citizens who act themselves to challenge interventions in the environment, individually or organised in groups (as foreseen by Kondiadis and Skoures, mentioned in Voudouri 2003: 137, n. 22).

Legal theory, based on relevant articles, contends that the constitutional provision for the protection of the environment not only refers to measures for protection from destruction but also to ensuring its enjoyment by as many people as possible and its enhancement as an element that enriches and improves quality of life (article 2, par. 1: *On the State's Obligation to Respect and Protect Human Value*, and article 5, par. 1: *On the Right for Free Personality Development and Participation in the Social, Economic and Political Life*, Voudouri 2003: 134). According to the sixth paragraph of the same article, monuments, traditional areas and elements are protected by the state, and the law defines the way and means of compensation for owners whose property has been affected by protection measures.

It took ten years, nine ministers and ten preparatory committees before the current law was enacted in 2002 (Law no. 3028/2002, *On the Protection of Antiquities and Cultural Heritage in General*) (Papapetropoulos 2006: 5-13). Its recommendation report justifies its necessity based on significant changes in the world, technology, research, the value of heritage to citizens and society, and on the contentious and insufficient premises of the previous legal framework. The identification of protection with restriction and prohibition had led to distrust with citizens and a conflict between those concerned with protection and those with private interests, thus reducing the measures' effectiveness. At the same time, the public came to demand more efficient administration, more transparent legal procedures and better quality of life, which led to the realisation of the need to base archaeological management on universal sensitisation to the protection of cultural heritage. This law was therefore introduced as a means of achieving as much cooperation from people as possible. This can be clearly seen in four out of eleven founding principles: the social dimension of protection (III), the enrichment of protective strategies (IV),

the complementarity between state and citizens' duties (V) and the facilitation of citizens' access to features of cultural heritage (IX) (mentioned in Skoures and Trova 2003: 59-60, 63-6, 70).

In general, this law encapsulates the official approach towards cultural heritage as 'monuments', 'archaeological sites', 'historical sites' or 'intangible cultural goods' and declares that their protection aims at 'preserving historical memory for present and future generations and enhancing the cultural environment' (article 1, par. 1). Protection is granted according to the resource's date and significance — architectural, town planning, social, ethnological, folklore, technical, industrial or in general, historical, artistic or scientific. Protection applies, in descending order, to everything that predates 1830 (or 1453 regarding movable monuments), to significant monuments only when they are dated to more than one hundred years ago, and to especially significant ones when they are dated to within the last one hundred years (article 6, par. 1 and article 20, par. 1). Similar chronological groupings determine the organisation of archaeological resource management in Ministry Directorates (e.g. Prehistoric and Classical, Byzantine and Post-Byzantine) and Ephorates respectively (see above n. 4, p. 56), museums (e.g. Archaeological or Byzantine) and Central and Local Councils (e.g. Archaeological or of Modern Monuments, see below n. 7, p. 75).

An analysis of the meaning of 'protection' reveals more specifically where the social dimension of protection lies. According to article 3, the protection of an antiquity consists of: location, research, recording, documentation and study of its elements (passage 1), preservation and prevention of destruction, disfigurement or in general any kind of damage, direct or indirect to it (passage 2), prevention of illegal excavations, theft and illegal export (passage 3), conservation and, in appropriate circumstances, restoration (passage 4),

facilitation of access to and communication of the public with it (passage 5), enhancement and integration into contemporary social life (passage 6) and education, aesthetic enjoyment and public awareness of cultural heritage (passage 7). Passages 5 to 7 thus directly refer to the social dimension of protection.

Further measures on the use of and access to monuments set the regulatory framework for implementing the social dimension. More particularly, according to Karakostas (2004: 286), the social aspect of protection consists of the obligation of a user or owner of a monument that is preserved with the financial contribution of the state or a local authority to allow public access, under certain conditions (article 11, par. 2 and article 29, par. 2) and of private collectors' obligation to loan artefacts for public view (article 31, par. 9), as well as the provisions regarding the operation of museums (article 45) and of those regarding the use of monuments (article 46). In this way, the social role of collections or monuments in private hands is ensured and contact with the rest of cultural heritage is regulated.

Indeed, as Gogos (2004: 306, 317) points out, the law endorses visiting as the common means of peoples' use of monuments, under conditions set by ministerial decision, and on the basis of archaeological legislation since the nineteenth century. He thus points to the fact that the much-emphasised 'innovation' in the current law is not actually all that new. Indeed, Voudouri (2003: 113-4) mentions that since 1834 the law has mandated that museums are open to everyone who is interested in visiting them and a later royal decree specifically identified their social and educational mission. Gazi (1993: 64-6) maintains that the conception of Greek museums as places for public enjoyment is one of the most important characteristics of early museum development, at least as far as central museums were concerned, the operation of which has

been regulated by legislation. Provincial archaeological museums in contrast have preserved their role as depositories until very recently (Hourmouziadi 2006: 112).

The current law thus re-invents museums under the pressure of reconciliation between archaeology and the public in order to promote the social dimension of protection. The latter seems to begin and end with a visit to a museum or an archaeological site, both highly controlled and regulated spaces, where formal approaches enjoy full and uncontested authority over the visitor. Articles of the law referring to museums constitute the first regulatory framework for museums (Papapetropoulos 2006: 190). Based on ICOM's definition of museums, the Greek law has adopted the profile of a more complex organisation, with a more extensive and multi-dimensional role (Voudouri 2003: 120). Additionally, a continuous flow of funding from the CSF has resulted in the opening and renovation of numerous museums and archaeological sites throughout the country and some even run educational programmes (*idem*: 117; e.g. Association of Greek Archaeologists 2007).

However, the operation of the majority of Greek museums still lies outside the premises set by the law and even the Constitution. As integral parts of the Ephorates they belong to, they accumulate in their storerooms the finds of both systematic and rescue excavations. Without sufficient human and financial resources, the public's physical and intellectual access to museums collections is impossible. Even interested researchers are often not allowed to access material that has been left unpublished, despite the excavators' specific legal obligation, and which is unlikely to be published, in breach of the Constitutional premises on the freedom of research (The Constitution of Greece 2010: article 16, par. 1). Museums tend to treat the public as an undifferentiated mass, and see visitor studies as redundant, instead of putting all their efforts into attracting visitors,

enriching visits and engaging local communities in active participation and dialogue (Voudouri 2003: 479). In this context, it remains doubtful if renovations and foundations of new museums can bring more than aesthetic and technical changes, rather than fundamental changes and ruptures with deeply rooted mentalities and traditional stereotypes (*idem*: 481). Further changes introduced by the law, such as the accreditation of museums, have not been implemented yet. This is also the case with other progressive legislative texts, such as the Law no. 5081, *On the Foundation of City Museums*, issued in 1931, that promoted a progressive approach of museums as intellectual-cultural centres in the service of local communities, which has also never been implemented (*idem*: 116).

The use of a monument for an event can be granted by ministerial decision under conditions and after the relevant Council[7] has been consulted. The law prescribes that one of the conditions is the compatibility of the event with the character of the monument or the protected site (article 46, par. 1). Papapetropoulos, a legal counsellor in the state in the Ministry for more than twenty years, further interprets this by adding that the event needs to concur with the original use of the monument and be of an 'appropriate quality' (Papapetropoulos 2006: 200). There are no specifications as to what this 'appropriate quality' is other than the judgment of the relevant Council. Therefore, approval depends greatly on discrete power and prediction of the extent of wear of the monument (Gogos 2004: 309-10). When permission is granted, the applicant is informed of the ministerial decision and its conditions. No agreement is signed between the parties (Papapetropoulos 2006: 200), a formality that would however demonstrate the will to pursue consent and

[7] The Central Archaeological Council and the Central Council for Modern Monuments are the highest advisory bodies of the Minister of Culture and Tourism and are presided by the General Secretary of the Ministry.

emphasise the obligations that derive from accepting the conditions imposed, instead of the attitude of an authority that confines its actions to announcing its decisions.

The implementation of this process has not been unproblematic, especially regarding the use of archaeological sites. Occasional, although not frequent, disagreements between the Minister and the Central Archaeological Council (e.g. on the hosting of a Calvin Klein fashion show at the Herodium auditorium, see Voudouri 2003: 248), or the Council's swing of opinion from week to week (e.g. the rejection and approval within three weeks' time of a concert by the German rock band Scorpions at the castle of Mytilene was reported widely in the daily press, Giakoumi 2009; Kodrarou-Rassia 2009a, 2009b; To Vima 2009), have exposed the subjective basis of the process. The lack of specific criteria and stated degrees of tolerated deviation from them renders the decisions of the Central Archaeological Council and the Minister obscure, vulnerable, open to critique and does not promote transparency.

It is also worth mentioning that the Association of Greek Archaeologists insisted on the criterion of compatibility of events with the ancient use of a monument during the preparation of the Law no. 3028/2002. This is regarded as ensuring that the event will help the public experience the monument in context in contrast to the use of the monument simply as a setting for social events (mentioned in Voudouri 2003: 249). However, this means the further restriction of the type of events that can be hosted, and dictates a meaningful approach to the monuments, away from aesthetic ideals, that Greek Archaeology itself has never supported. There are archaeologists who object to local administrations' use of monuments on the grounds that local representatives use antiquities to raise the status of their events (Papapetropoulos 2006: 46), thus trying to

exclude from the symbolic use of antiquities anyone other than the state itself and revealing thereby what archaeologists think of local administrations.

The patronising attitude of the state and the Archaeological Service occasionally borders on censorship, in breach of constitutionally protected human rights. The belief that it is part of the state's duty of protection to ensure the 'ethical' use of antiquities and to safeguard their 'sacredness' from any insult or vilification is widespread. General Secretaries of the Ministry have reacted to 'international provocations' ranging from the use of an image of the Parthenon by Coca Cola to recent covers of the German magazine *Focus* (see Hamilakis 2007: 5-9; Thermou 2010a; *Focus* no. 8, 22/02/2010 and no. 18, 03/05/2010). Archaeologists often also share the view of the 'damaging' use of antiquity by marketing (Boulotis 1988).

Although there are legal grounds stemming from intellectual property legislation (article 29, par. 2, Law no. 2121/1993, *Government Gazette* 25A/4.03.1993), the state and the Archaeological Service have not yet pursued a case further than protest on the grounds of humiliation and distortion of the national cultural identity. Such premises entail further ideological and political implications in case of their possible use to restrict challenges to the officially projected ideology. They also raise issues about basic human rights, such as freedom of expression, art and science (Voudouri 2003: 236-8).

Despite many changes, the close relationship between the state and antiquities reveals the conservative role antiquities play today, as a privileged symbolic foundation of national identity that enforces a complex of introversion and entrenchment in the nation's past. These actions suggest that the field is not ready to commit and embrace its social role. Moreover, the state and the Archaeological Service still tend to approach individual or collective initiatives

that are not directly controlled by them, as a threat to their exclusive right to the management and interpretation of the resource, and in the end, to its exclusive appropriation (e.g. the dispute between the EPCA and the local residents of the Hill of Philopappou in Athens, see 2.2.10).

This might explain the reluctance noted in including in the law the phrase 'in the service of society and its development'. In ICOM's definition this phrase is of the highest importance for a museum, even preceding the description of a museum's role. Voudouri (2003: 119), who participated in one of the law's preparatory committees, recalls that it was considered to be of 'no legal importance', while the social mission of the museum was concluded by the defined aims and functions. It can also be understood as a point that illustrates major discrepancies in the perspectives taken in Greece and how, in practice, the social role is put aside as sequential and 'legally insignificant'.

Although the Constitution and the archaeological law establish the individual right of protection, protection of the individual from the consequences of breach of this right is not provided. Protection may be sought under the regulations concerning the right of personality in the Civic Code, considering the character of antiquities as things of common use, not liable to adverse possession and transaction (article 57). This article in combination with the premises of the Constitution and the archaeological law empowers individuals to pursue the application of the archaeological law in court (Karakostas 2004: 287-96, also see Voudouri 2003: 149). The archaeological law is also designed to motivate individuals to protect antiquities through the provision of rewards and compensations (Recommendation Report in Skoures and Trova 2003: 66), measures that have been criticised as encouraging illicit excavations rather than contributing to the fight against looting.

Admittedly, there has been an effort to draft a modern legislative text that would facilitate individual collaboration in protection through the description of specific commitments, obligations, processes of notification and hearing, short deadlines for administrative action and restricted discrete power on the part of the administration (Recommendation Report in Skoures and Trova 2003: 65). It is doubtful that these premises are implemented, judging from the cases that make it to the press (e.g. the case of the expropriation of properties at the site of the temple of Artemis Agrotera in Athens has been discussed since 1964 and remains unresolved, To Vima 2010a). The Legal Counsel in the Ministry has commented on long delays in the issuing of the Presidential Decrees necessary for the implementation of different regulations (Papapetropoulos 2006: 49).

In the end, this law confirms the axiomatic belief of the Archaeological Service and the Association of Greek Archaeologists that only the state, in its narrow sense, can protect, manage and enhance antiquities appropriately and effectively. This position is often projected as non-negotiable and guaranteed in the future. However, it overlooks the constantly increasing demand for participation by other agents, such as the Church, private organisations, local administrations and civil society. It also disregards current developments in state policies on social responsibility, the right to diversity, self-government, and other methods of state organisation and the re-evaluation of cultural heritage in relation to its increasing economic role. It has been stated that Greek museums, and one could claim archaeological resource management as well, will come to terms with current and changing conditions through a comprehensive approach, theoretical investigation and study, public discourse and institutional and structural changes (Voudouri 2003: 483).

Since the law was ratified in 2002, the state has taken further legal measures to enhance the protection of antiquities. In 2007, a regulatory framework regarding cultural sponsorship was set by law (Law no. 3525/2007, *Government Gazette* 16/A/26.01.2007), although archaeological works have benefited little from it. In 2008, the Directorate of Documentation and Protection of Cultural Goods was founded (Law no. 3658/2008, *Government Gazette* 70/A/22.04.2008) though again its operation has not brought substantial results.

In addition, from time to time the national legal framework is also enforced with the ratification of international and European Conventions such as the *Valetta Convention* (1964), the *Unidroit Convention* (1995), the *Hague Convention* (1954), the *Granada Convention* (1985), the *Convention for the Safeguarding of Intangible Cultural Heritage* (2003), the *World Heritage Convention* (1972) and the *UNESCO Convention on Illicit Trade* (1970). Further regulatory premises are included in planning and building legislation (Law no. 2508/1997, *Government Gazette* 124A/13.06.1997) (for further information see the Hellenic Society for Law and Archaeology, http://www.law-archaeology.gr/).

Legislative measures that are perceived as threatening the protection and conservation of antiquities have also been introduced in recent years. In 2005, the *Diving Tourism Law* was enacted (Law no. 3409/2005, *Government Gazette* 273A/04.11.2005) and diving with the use of breathing equipment was allowed. A field largely unexplored and extremely difficult to control and protect was thus opened to the public under conditions (article 11). In 2006, the *Code of Municipalities and Communities* was enacted (Law no. 3463/2006, *Government Gazette* 114A/08.06.2006) and included in the responsibilities of local administrations the implementation of policies for the enhancement and presentation of local cultural resources, the protection of museums, monuments, caves, archaeological and historical sites and their facilities and the

development of cultural tourism (article 75). In all cases, the Association of Greek Archaeologists have protested strongly but their arguments have not been taken into account.

2.1.5 Administration and Bureaucracy

The operation of the Archaeological Service was initiated in 1833. Its staff included a General Director, three regional Directors responsible for the Peloponnese, mainland Greece and the Aegean islands and a warden of the museum in Aegina (Kokkou 1977: 70-2). In 1836, the Archaeological Committee, effectively the predecessor of the Central Archaeological Council, was also founded (*idem*: 84). Until the end of the nineteenth century there were ten regional Directors (*idem*: 118). Therefore, the basis of the current organization of archaeological resource management was set from early on in the history of the Greek state.

No other significant change in the quantitative or qualitative features of archaeological resource management occurred until 1910, when the Archaeological Service was reorganized to seven regions and the number of regional Directors increased by 50% to 15, including one dedicated to Christian and Medieval Antiquities (Kokkou 1977: 138-9). In 1960, the Archaeological Service moved from the authority of the Ministry of Education to the responsibility of the Ministry of Presidency, where it became an independent 'Service of Antiquities and Anastylosis' (*idem*: 145). This move aimed to free the Archaeological Service from the control of university professors, a clash still echoed in the relations between university departments and the Archaeological Service (Mastrantonis 2008: 65-6; Petrakos 1982: 60). Available funds increased and the number of archaeologists almost doubled by 72% from 56 to 96 (Stikas 1967: 7).

In 1971 the Archaeological Service was placed under the authority of the Ministry of Culture and Sciences, newly founded by the Military Junta (1968-74), where it has remained ever since. In 1973, the Archaeological Service consisted of 21 Ephorates of Prehistoric and Classical Antiquities (EPCAs), eight Ephorates of Byzantine Antiquities (EBAs), two mixed Ephorates, the Ephorate of the Acropolis, of Modern Monuments and of Private Archaeological Collections (Ministerial Decision 9405/23, *Government Gazette*, 272B/28.2.1973). By 1977, there were 25 EPCAs, 13 EBAs, seven Ephorates of Modern Monuments and the Ephorate of Private Archaeological Collections, Underwater Archaeology and Palaeontology and Speleology (Presidential Decree 941/1977, *Government Gazette* 320A/17.10.1977). In 2003, there were 39 EPCAs, 28 EBAs, 12 Services of Modern Monuments and the Ephorate of Private Archaeological Collections, the one of Underwater Archaeology and two Ephorates of Palaeontology and Speleology (Presidential Decree 191/2003, *Government Gazette* 146A/13.06.2003). There has therefore been an almost doubling of EPCAs, a more than tripling of EBAs and an almost doubling of Modern Monuments Services.

The number of archaeologists the state employs has increased accordingly. According to the law, the Archaeological Service employs archaeologists after they have successfully sat for specific examinations. The opportunities for such an examination have been entirely irregular so far. The four most recent ones took place in 1989, 1992, 1993 and 2004. During the years from 1993 to 2004, the Archaeological Service responded to the excessive demand for archaeologists due to the requirements of a great number of public works (e.g. the Athens metro and preparation for the 2004 Athens Olympics) by employing on rolling contracts. In 2004, the state was obliged by EU legislation to grant permanent employment to hundreds of these archaeologists. As a result, the number of state archaeologists tripled (Representative of Association of Greek

Archaeologists pers.comm.).

At the same time, EU CSFs increasingly funded the archaeological works the Ministry of Culture undertook with the subsequent employment of more archaeologists under contracts. The work conducted under the 3rd CSF represented the culmination of this unprecedented flow of financial and human resources towards the Archaeological Service (see 2.1.3).

In a recent development, the Ministry of Culture has been merged with the Ministry of Tourism (October 2009). This has impacted on the structure of the Archaeological Service less than had been expected other than an anticipated increased emphasis on the presentation of archaeological resources for the benefit of tourism and the national economy. For instance, the Ministry of Culture and Tourism publicised a survey that revealed that the majority of Greek archaeological sites that require a ticket only provide for basic visitor services, including information leaflet, cafeteria, WC and parking area (61%), just over a quarter provide basic services in need of renovation (27%) and only 12% provide, additionally, bilingual information, access for disabled visitors, official guidebooks and souvenir shops. The Ministry thus announced a 20 million euros investment to improve these services (Thermou 2010b).

There was very slow progress in the organization of archaeological management for the first 130 years. The independence of the Archaeological Service in 1960 represented a threshold that demonstrated its potential after the foundation of the Ministry of Culture in 1971 and especially after 1981. This process sped up as more and more infrastructure and public works took place, and as the cost of archaeological work came to be shared by the private sector, mainly the construction industry. EU funding reoriented archaeological work towards enhancement rather than only excavation and research (see

Association of Greek Archaeologists 2007), while lack of storage and increase of unpublished material became problems. The Archaeological Service undertakes little systematic research and much of what appears to be such is the supervision of work conducted by foreign schools and Greek universities.
Archaeologists have discussed the same problems throughout the history of the Archaeological Service, namely, the lack of funding and the lack of personnel. After the great expansion the Archaeological Service has recently experienced, one is left wondering whether there can ever be enough resources for archaeological resource management in Greece and whether the most pressing issue has become that of strategic management of resources. Even the latest reorganisation of the Archaeological Service has only brought quantitative solutions while the more qualitative approaches, that would shift it towards a more supervisory role, such as the accreditation of museums that would function independently, have been postponed (on the supervisory role see Lambrinoudakis 2003: 52; Voudouri 2003: 270).

The structure of the Ministry of Culture and Tourism reflects state priorities in cultural policy. It is evident that cultural heritage, meaning archaeological heritage and mainly Classical antiquities, comes first. In the field of contemporary cultural creation and development, the State only supports private initiatives (Voudouri 2003: 257). Considerable criticism has been focused on the dual role of the Archaeological Service itself, which is both administrative and scientific, at the expense of both. The chronological division of the services is fundamental (e.g. Ephorates of Prehistoric and Classical and Ephorates of Byzantine and Post-Byzantine antiquities) and it is reflected in the legislative framework and the university education curricula as well. However, it limits general strategic planning, diachronic and interdisciplinary approaches. As in all levels of archaeological research and practice, object-oriented approaches dominate in the Archaeological Service as well, while the

social, economic and communicative dimensions of archaeology are absent (Voudouri 2003: 262-5, 268, 270).

In general, the structure of the Ministry of Culture and Tourism presents problems in terms of the allocation of duties between its own different Councils. The foundation of new bodies, such as the Hellenic Culture Organisation, a company 'to promote the cultural heritage and resources of the country' brought up issues of constitutionality and has resulted in its merger with preexisting bodies (Hellenic Culture Organisation 2011; Voudouri 2003: 284-94). Problems also occur in the collaboration with other responsible Ministries, such as the Ministry of Land Planning, Environment and Public Works and regional Ministries, such as the Ministry of the Aegean and the General Secretariat of Macedonia and Thrace. This situation limits the coordinative role and organisational potential of the Ministry of Culture and Tourism. The retreat of the State and the decentralisation of its authority are regarded as necessary (*idem*: 274-5, 311, 339).

The Archaeological Society in Athens (*Archaeologiki Etaireia*) is another distinctive agent in archaeological resource management in Greece. It was founded in 1837 as a club of highly influential patrons including ministers and even the King himself, with a complementary and formative role, especially in the early days of state archaeological management (Petrakos 1987a: 57-8). There are also six university departments of archaeology and 17 Foreign Schools and Institutes of archaeology as well as two private museums with archaeological collections and even more private collections.

Finally the operation of the Archaeological Service should be considered in the context of the state structure as a 'distancing' (Walsh 1992: 26-7) or 'disembedding' mechanism (Giddens 1990: 21-8) from the pre-existing

relationships that people had developed with their local antiquities, expressed in myths, legends and rituals, their indigenous archaeologies (Hamilakis 2008). There are two aspects for consideration: the State as the exclusive employer of archaeologists, and as the controlling authority of archaeological heritage. The former will be examined in the analysis in relation to the shortage of staff. The latter will be examined here historically, from the perspective of Koliopoulos and Veremis in their description of the Greek public sector in the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. This analysis relates to the development of the public sector after the 1980s.

A post in the public sector is perceived as the ticket to the world of the powerful few while the impotent and vulnerable are left behind. The archaeologist seeking employment aims either for the national examinations or for a short-term contract. As soon as they land a job, they turn into a 'petty tyrant', holding hostage those who cannot avoid obtaining their signature and depend on their reports and decisions (Koliopoulos and Veremis 2002: 62-4). Taking into consideration the primacy of the archaeological resource over the right of property as the Greek law defines it, the difficulties in the relationship between archaeology and the Greeks become clearer.

Of course the effect of the increasingly professional nature and institutionalisation of archaeology on public perceptions of the past and its remains has been discussed in the context of other national archaeologies as well (e.g. Faulkner 2000; Thomas 2004). It becomes obvious that in the Greek case, archaeology is more tightly regulated and involves state patronage expressed in all possible ways (see 2.1.4) with the aim of fulfiling its national mission (see 2.1.2).

2.2 Archaeology and the public in Greece

2.2.1 Introduction

The notion of 'the public' and the question of its relationship with archaeology have recently been introduced to the Greek archaeological management debate. Often the term is used conventionally as a blanket that covers the great range of individuals that fit in it, which results in the question *'who is the public?'*

A further issue regarding its use stems from its translation in Greek with the word *koino (κοινό, το),* which bears connotations of passivity. The Centre for the Greek Language offers two definitions for the word *koino*:

> **1.** the great mass of population, a mass of people loosely and informally connected with social ties but clear about their interests and their orientations. Entrance is forbidden to the ~. The exhibition will be open to the ~. The informing of the ~ through the daily press. The broad ~'. **2.** mass of people who partake in a social or other activity or attend as readers, audience, viewers or visitors an artistic, scientific, sporting or other event. The consumers'/buying ~. Sporting ~. Newspaper with great readers' ~…The art-loving ~ (Centre for Greek Language 2011).

Therefore, the same word is used to refer to any receiver, from the audience of a performance to the clients of a service. It implies the passive reception of something that is offered by someone else under conditions.

The use of the term *koino* serves the Archaeological Service's formal approach of public engagement by prescribing a very specific and absolutely controlled role for the public under appropriate conditions that leave no room for initiative or

alternative approaches. On the other hand, a more appropriate word, such as *demos*, has now been restricted to a more administrative bureaucratic sense. Therefore, it is worth considering the use of the word *koinonia* instead, a direct translation of 'society', which leaves the floor open to a more self-motivated aggregate of individuals. Similar concerns have been raised in museum studies (Hooper-Greenhill 1999).

Open and focused debate on public archaeology has been avoided so far in Greece. Instead, the issue of public engagement is masked in the 'integrated protection' discourse, now broadly used to describe mainly the more controversial term 'anastylosis' (for example see Lambrinoudakis 2003: 51-2; Mastrantonis 2008: 72). Within this context, anastylosis is misrepresented as the ultimate means of publishing archaeological work to the wider public and interpretation infrastructure, i.e. footpaths, viewing points, anastylosis works and restoration, is mistakenly identified with interpretation.

Public archaeology is thus compromised to the foundation of yet another archaeological museum or the initiation of yet another educational programme without any scrutiny of how the public engages with archaeological sites and museums and further elaboration of specific means of public engaging (see also 5.6.1). As a consequence, the sterile relationship discussed in the context of museums and their visitors (see below 2.2.2) is perpetuated. The public find it difficult to make sense of and learn from archaeological remains, in their ruinous or restored form. Additionally, any municipality and other unspecialised agents believe that enhancement works, i.e. interpretation infrastructure bare of any information conveyed in a stimulating way, are within their capabilities.

As a result, superficial and technical approaches to 'integrated protection' threaten to turn archaeological work into a contractor's business, hinder archaeologists from properly publicising archaeological work and further isolate Greek archaeology from the public. In this context, interpretation and presentation of the past in Greece is not fulfilled (for such examples see Association of Greek Archaeologists 2002).

2.2.2 Greek Archaeological Museums

A brief overview of the role of Greek archaeological museums is necessary; as part of the state structure of archaeological management, they have theoretically had the major role in presenting, interpreting and communicating archaeological heritage.

During the nineteenth century Greek archaeology struggled to protect antiquities from war, removal and looting. Therefore the 1834 law specified that museums should be founded in the capitals of every prefecture for 'the preservation in situ of all objects having local value' (articles 2 and 8) (Gazi 1993: 51-2; Petrakos 1982: 124-5). In reality, the first provincial museum was founded in 1874 in Sparta (Gazi 1993: 340). The lack of human and financial resources forced the state to entrust local authorities with the protection of antiquities, and local collections constituted the first nuclei of provincial museums and were considered an effective medium for the protection of antiquities at the time (*idem*: 56-66; *Praktika tis Archaiologikis Etaireias* 1900: 20, 1906: 54).

Legislation in 1885 envisaged a public and educational role for archaeological museums, involving 'the teaching and study of archaeology, the general diffusion of archaeological knowledge and the generation of love for the fine

arts' (Royal Decree, 25/11/1885). In practice, this translated to extended opening hours and catalogues for public use, almost exclusively in Athenian museums (Gazi 1993: 315).

The presentation in museums was linear and classificatory, typical of nineteenth century 'showcase' museums. Interpretation was lacking partly because of the early development of the discipline but mainly because of its ideological implications. As Kotsakis (2002: 16) argues, the powerful and self-sufficient ethnocentric ideological construct has legitimised the absence of theoretical orientation in Greek archaeology. The symbolic nature of antiquities as national emblems was regarded as self-evident and therefore no interpretation was required. Art-historical approaches to archaeology had prevailed (Gazi 1993: 327; Gratziou 1985; see also the contrast between Bourdieu's theory on cultural capital and Kantian aesthetics in 1.10).

In general, there was no overall state policy for museums in the nineteenth century. The idealised view of the Classical past was evident in all displays, even when the vision of the nation included Medieval Hellenism towards the end of the century. The displays evoked more feelings of reverence rather than appreciation. The affinity with the past was curtailed rather than enhanced in the eyes of the public and therefore created distance rather than understanding (Gazi 1993: 332; Hourmouziadis 1980).

Well into the twentieth century, the educational role of museums was further discussed in formal *fora*, such as a UNESCO conference in Athens about the mission of museums in education in 1954 (Karouzos in Petrakos 1995: 348-51) and in the press in 1966 (Bakalakis mentioned in Dassiou 2005: 24). In the first meeting of the Association of Greek Archaeologists (1967), Theocharis (1984: 80-5) mentioned a public approach to archaeological activity through museums

and referred to the presentation of other aspects of life apart from art works, but developments were slow. Although the study of prehistory had entered the archaeological discourse at the end of the nineteenth century (Voutsaki 2004), the first exhibition of artefacts intended for the presentation of the Neolithic culture was not created until 1976 (Hourmouziadi 2006: 81-2).

The post-war period saw the proliferation of rescue excavations because of both public and private construction and resulted in an 'archaeology of building plots' (Hourmouziadi 2006: 52, n. 128). More archaeological museums were built as repositories for these finds, according to where the need for storage was more pressing. At the same time, the permanent, temporary and travelling exhibitions of Greek archaeological museums were developed under the influence of the Classical archaeological discourse (for a review of the whole period see Mouliou 1997). It was at this time that archaeologists first realised the 'distancing' of the public from museums and the lack of a theory behind their exhibitions (Hourmouziadi 2006: 76).

At the same time, although increasing numbers of tourists were arriving in the country with the emergence of mass tourism (Hourmouziadi 2006: 77), visitor needs were not considered until the 1980s in Greece. Until 1977, the law still defined museums in relation to their role of safeguarding collections. The law of 2002 (article 45, par. 1) shifted the focus to the social role of the museum, with its aims mainly to exhibit and present collections to the public for their study, learning and entertainment (Hourmouziadi 2006: 111-2). Up to the present day, visitor numbers for Greek archaeological museums demonstrate direct dependence on tourism and school visits (see the sharp increase in visitor numbers in Philippi and Delphi, 4.1.3 and 4.3.3). Despite extensive refurbishment, Greeks still do not visit them (Sykka 2008).

In the 1970s the political role of the museum was occasionally referred to, whereby the foundation of museums was seen as a political act and a state obligation. Even then exhibitions of Classical antiquities remained entrenched in aesthetic principles of history of art, and any experimentation was restricted to prehistoric exhibitions. The lack of central planning, and spasmodic action irrelevant to the discourse stemming from the museum itself and its impasses, continue to drive museum development. Thirty-five new museums have been founded since 1980, but certainly not to meet visitor demand (Hourmouziadi 2006: 83, 122, 110).

Museum funding and development has also been affected by their relative significance. The National Archaeological Museum and the Acropolis Museum, for instance, have always been granted all the attention and resources necessary for their organisation and maintenance (Gazi 1993: 322). One only needs to take into account reports on the cost of the New Acropolis Museum to realise that this situation has remained unchanged. Museums have also never acquired autonomy. Their variety is only due to the lack of an overall state policy. The Greek museological discourse continues to neglect the visitor (Hourmouziadi 2006: 346). The Archaeological Museum in Thessaloniki and the Byzantine and Christian Museum in Athens conducted in 2007 and 2008 major visitor and non-visitor surveys that for the first time seemed to be taken into consideration in the broader management policy of these museums (Kathimerini 2008a, b).

2.2.3 Public Events

Greece also participates in European and international initiatives that aim to broaden public engagement with cultural heritage. These include the Council of Europe European Days of Heritage (every September), International Museum Day (organised by ICOM, around the 18th May), International Monuments and

Sites Day (organised by ICOMOS, 18th April) and more recently World Tourism Day (organised by UNWTO, 27th September). The main national initiative consists of late evening events to archaeological sites on the day of the August full moon, a successful and ongoing event, despite the lack of any effort to trademark it, even under the use of a common title or logo.

2.2.4 Educational Programmes

Within the context of the Greek archaeological museum, educational programmes have been introduced. The Benaki Museum in Athens undertook the very first such attempt, although on folk art, in 1979 (Geroulanou 1985). In the 1980s more museums and other institutions in Athens organised regular educational programmes and produced special publications and museum packs. In the 1990s such initiatives spread to the rest of the country (Kasvikis *et al.* 2002: 103-4). The Melina Project, a collaboration between the ministries of Culture and Education, offered the impetus for the development of more educational programmes in archaeological museums and sites (Voudouri 2003: 262), but this project ended in 2003 (Melina Project 2011).

However, a critical consideration of educational programmes reveals a series of constraints that limit their potential. Financial dependence on the limited resources of the Ministry of Culture, especially before and after the Melina Project, and their overall fragmentary application due to the lack of an overall educational policy, limit their potential for long-term and in-depth public engagement with archaeology and the past (Kasvikis *et al.* 2002: 108; Myrogianni-Arvanitidi 1999: 50, 53).

Museum archaeologists, who are responsible for the relevant collections but have no background in education, design and implement the educational

programmes. Archaeologists, who had not envisaged the role of the educator as part of their duties, even sought to undermine this at first (Myrogianni-Arvanitidi 1999: 50). Other issues include the common situation in Greek museums of exhibited material that is unpublished, and therefore excluded from educational programmes and intellectually inaccessible, as well as a lack of visual reproductions of research interpretations and hypotheses. On this point, Myrogianni-Arvanitidi very rightly notes that archaeologists in Greece hesitate to visually represent the hypotheses they otherwise state in their publications (*idem*: 51-2). Collaboration with teachers can also be problematic, as issues of competition between them and museum educators can ensue. Considering the issues school educational programmes are faced with, it seems unrealistic to expect the development of educational programmes for other age or social groups (*idem*: 53).

A survey of all educational programmes on archaeology implemented until 1999 revealed further issues, such as the general lack of discussion on their standards, conditions of implementation and evaluation (Andreou and Kotsakis 2002; Kasvikis *et al.* 2002). More specifically, a lack of educational programmes for early primary school and high school students was noted. Educational programmes that are implemented are connected in general terms with history classes and thus promote a specific, traditional perception of archaeology as subordinate to history. Also, their main preoccupation with Classical archaeology matters uncritically transmits the weaknesses identified in the history of archaeology and of its presentation. This is accentuated by the fact that educational programmes are mainly based on exhibitions that were set up a long time ago and with minimum, if any, consideration of the objects' educational role (Kasvikis *et al.* 2002: 108-9; Gratziou 1985). Their aims are predominantly cognitive, but they present archaeological data as self-evident, objective and undeniable truth on the basis of scientific authority. They rarely

allow participants to make their own evaluation and interpretation of the data presented to them, thus limiting their potential in developing critical thinking. Finally, summative evaluation is only occasionally used to improve their design and implementation (Kasvikis *et al.* 2002: 108-10).

Further issues that limit the educational benefits of archaeology that could be derived through educational programmes are their scarce application in archaeological excavations, their limited duration, their restriction to school age members of the public, their aim to respond to the needs of 'the average class' and their development in the exclusion of educators themselves (for an inclusive outreach programme developed to engage the local communities of the ongoing excavation in Paliambela, Kolindros, see Kasvikis *et al.* 2007a).

2.2.5 Archaeology in the Classroom

The close relationship between archaeology and education is demonstrated by the fact that the Ministry of Education was entrusted with protection of the antiquities from before the foundation of the Greek state until 1960 (see 2.1.5). This lead to a difficult relationship between university and state archaeologists, that continues until today (Mastrantonis 2008: 65-6; Petrakos 1982: 60). After all, for a long time the state, due to the lack of archaeologists, entrusted local teachers and schools with the safeguarding of antiquities (see Gazi 1993: 54). Although informal learning plays a significant role, formal education is still the main means of familiarising students with the past and giving them an understanding of it and its material culture. This is not only because education is applied universally but also because the Greek system's centralised structure and strictness, in terms of aims, subjects, content and material of teaching, ensure the ideological control of school knowledge (Kasvikis *et al.* 2007b: 130). Any relationship between students and the material culture of the past has

always been pursued in the context of that material culture as art history and within the nation-state building role of public education (Fragoudaki and Dragona 1997; Kasvikis 2004).

Archaeology is not taught as an independent course, but research on the archaeological narrative deployed in Greek school textbooks has revealed a significant presence, both in terms of textual and visual material, within a range of subjects including Greek language, history, geography, environmental studies and religion. The national mission Greek archaeology has taken up since its beginnings, to support the role of the past and of its material manifestations as the pillars of Greek national consciousness, is also shown in the content of school textbooks (Kasvikis 2004: 427-8).

The research showed that the vast majority of archaeological references either regarded finds, artefacts and monuments, or interpreted the material past. These were organised in seven categories. The discipline of archaeology was represented as the discovery of impressive artefacts and monuments, depicting them as treasure-like, and was strongly identified with excavation and adventure. The depiction of archaeologists was based on the same grounds (Kasvikis 2004: 428). The central role of archaeological finds, artefacts and monuments in the archaeological narratives of textbooks created a strong object-centred approach to the past. Objects were presented firstly as works of art and then as utensils, ideological manifestations and sources of information about the past (*idem*: 428-9).

Overall interpretations were based on cultural history. An evolutionary perspective was used to describe life, especially in the prehistoric past, from the 'primitives' to more complex societies. A strong historical dimension was attributed to artefacts, e.g. through the use of the Homeric literary-historical

framework to interpret the Mycenaean civilisation or the ability to use material culture as evidence through its connection with historical figures and events. On a secondary level, this projected notions of a glorified past (Kasvikis 2004: 429-31). These interpretations were complemented only scarcely by references to the material culture of other people, mainly Egyptians, Etruscans, Arabs and Romans, who were presented in a one-way relationship with ancient Greek culture, which only emitted and never accepted anything foreign. Only one mention could be found in the research of the fact that there were older cultures that preceded the Greeks (*idem*). Thus, archaeological narratives were found to contribute to the formation of national identity through the attribution of national features to the material culture of the past, with emphasis on its continuity and unchanged character through time (*idem*: 432).

There were also references to archaeological resource management, conservation, protection and enhancement, illicit trade and looting (Kasvikis 2004: 431). Museums were depicted as sites of protection and presentation and as temples of ancient art, in accordance with the overall framework of presentation of the past (*idem*). Finally, visual material reflected and enforced the ideological perspectives expressed in the text, directly linked to the development of archaeology in Greece: the dominance of ancient and Byzantine times over the prehistoric and recent past, and archaeology as the history of art, visualised through an out of context showcase of ancient masterpieces (*idem*: 432-6).

A survey has also been conducted among students in the last grade of compulsory education in urban, semi-urban and rural areas of Greece to investigate their experience, knowledge and attitudes in regard to archaeology (Dassiou 2005). In spite of several issues regarding the development and presentation of the survey, some of its conclusions relevant to this research

project are reported here. The survey revealed a strong identification of archaeology with excavation, a positivist and empirical perspective (*idem*: 109, 114-7, 129), with the reconstruction of the historical past (*idem*: 110, 119) and with history as a discipline (*idem*: 111-2).

In terms of students' familiarity with archaeological sites, museums and excavations, the largest group of students stated that they had visited archaeological sites 5 to 10 times (43%). Eighteen per cent had visited more than 15 times, 16% 10 to 15 times, 12% once and 3% had never visited an archaeological site (Dassiou 2005: 119-20). The largest group of students also stated that they had visited museums 5 to 10 times (40%). Nineteen per cent had visited more than 15 times and 21% 10 to 15 times (it is impossible to infer how the remaining 20% replied to the question, *idem*: 125). Half of the students had never visited an excavation (50%). Nineteen per cent had visited an excavation once, 14% had visited 5 to 10 times, 3% 10 to 15 times and 2% more than 15 times, while 11% did not answer the question. Dassiou used the comparison between the three to demonstrate the elimination of the educational role of archaeology (*idem*: 130).

However, the largest group of students stated that they would like to visit an excavation very much (32%), 26% a lot and 14% said that they had never thought about it, while 14% did not answer. A larger number stated that they would like to participate in an excavation very much (38%), while 17% had never thought about it and 12% did not answer (it is impossible to infer how the remaining students answered, *idem*: 130). In relation to museum visits, students stated that they preferred to attend guided tours, if they are well explained. Dassiou attributed this preference to the fact that they either do not know of other ways of engagement with museum exhibits or they imagined that other ways would require extra effort (*idem*: 122-7). The largest group stated that they

expect the state to implement ways to familiarise them with the material culture of the past (40%), 28.5% attributed such a role to their local cultural association and 15.5% to the local administration, while 16% did not reply (*idem*: 144).

Students expressed difficulty in discussing what constitutes a monument or an artefact of archaeological interest. More than 40% of them did not reply. No one referred to prehistoric archaeological sites in Greece and, regarding artefacts, they mainly referred to sculpture. There was no mention of tools or other utensils (Dassiou 2005: 132-3).

Students believed that there was a great or moderate relationship between archaeology and tourism (25% for each option, 24% did not answer), while the rest of the options, such as 'small', 'none', 'I don't know', received less than 10% of replies (Dassiou 2005: 154-5). They believed that there is a great (47%) or moderate (13%) relationship between Greece and archaeology (25% did not answer). Dassiou interpreted these answers as lacking correspondence to reality because of a lack of information (*idem*: 155). In terms of the relationship between other countries and archaeology, the largest group of students did not answer at all (26%), 23% found it fair, 16% great, 19% stated that they did not know, 5% did not answer. Dassiou interpreted these answers as demonstrating a lack of information, fragmentary knowledge from a variety of sources and lack of intercultural perspectives in education (*idem*: 157). Finally, in terms of the relations of other European countries with monuments, 27% stated that there are many, 26% few and 25% did not reply. Dassiou suggested that these answers were expressions of basic and superficial knowledge (*idem*: 159-60).

The Environmental Education Centres (EEC) constitute a last point of convergence between formal education and archaeology. The Ministry of Education has gradually founded them throughout the country, one in each

prefecture, since the 1990s. These Centres develop and host educational programmes with the aim of raising awareness among students of humans' relationship with the natural and cultural environment, sensitising them on the problems related to it and motivating them to engage with their solution (Law no. 1892/90 *Government Gazette* 101A/31.07.1990, article 111, par. 13). The EECs offer educational programmes to schools from their own prefecture and from other parts of the country, some of which are relevant to the local archaeological resources and are thus considered in this thesis.

2.2.6 Archaeology in the Press

Research on archaeological news in the Greek press during the nineteenth and twentieth centuries has demonstrated that there has always been a fairly systematic presentation of archaeological work in this domain of the public sphere. News has mainly referred to Greek archaeology, Classical and, since 1876, when Mycenae was first excavated, Mycenaean too. There has been very little mention of archaeology in the rest of the world. Archaeological resource management issues, such as legislative measures, administrative decisions, the foundation of museums and the operation of Greek and foreign institutions often appeared in the press as well (Sophronidou 2003: 641-4, 647). The social aspect of archaeological works, as in the case of the Athens Agora excavations, has been systematically debated (*idem*: 645, n. 402). Overall, archaeological news has often been a backdrop for intensive political criticism (*idem*: 647, 654). Especially in relation to the problem of looting, the press has tried to shape public opinion and sensitise people to the negative effects on the country's international reputation and the loss of resources for its development, and even the impact on the economy (*idem*: 647).

Archaeological news has followed the current trends in scientific research (Sophrondiou 2003: 641). The marginal role of prehistoric archaeology has thus been confirmed in the respective support it has received from the press (*idem*: 660). The 1870s marked an ethnocentric turn in regard to the news reported (*idem*: 645), and less archaeological news appeared in the press from the point when archaeological work intensified at the beginning of the twentieth century onwards (*idem*: 652).

Today, news about new research findings, rescue excavations, the opening of major exhibitions in the museums of Athens and often of Thessaloniki, the fluctuations of visitor numbers in museums and sites, and the decisions of the Ministry of Culture and Tourism or the Central Archaeological Council are among the issues reported on in the press. Three columnists who specialised in cultural news were interviewed in the context of the aforementioned research, and said that matters of the protection of antiquities confer quality to a newspaper. Their inclusion is determined by the availability of more important news (Charalambidou in Sophronidou 2003: 168) and items in these fields are often used to 'lighten up' the content, in comparison to other scientific stories (Kiosse in *idem*: 166).

Speaking 'from experience', one columnist said that the public is looking for something mysterious in archaeology (Kiosse in Sophrondiou 2003: 166). All referred to archaeological news as 'impressive'. One Thessaloniki-based newspaper columnist dated this inclination towards impressive reports to the time of the Vergina finds.

> Vergina, I believe, signified the interest of the government and of the public. I think that these findings attracted international interest and their impact was as great not only because of their historical

> significance but especially because of the valuable material of their making, that is, in the end they directed the whole process of publicising archaeological news into a different way of presentation, more impressive, I would say (Charalambidou in *idem*: 169).

The fact that the other two columnists did not mention Vergina might imply that the effect was not national.

The contribution of archaeologists towards how and what is published has always been significant because they have themselves been major sources of information or the actual authors of published texts (Sophronidou 2003: 653-4), providing a great deal of the information publicised (Charalambidou in *idem*: 167-8). An older columnist remembered how in the beginning it was mainly foreign archaeologists who talked to the press with pleasure. The Archaeological Service did not agree with the promotion of young archaeologists through the press. In time, Greek archaeologists' relationships with the press improved (Savvide in *idem*: 163-4), although a younger columnist said that archaeologists still do not share information with all journalists as easily (Kiosse in *idem*: 165).

Columnists also stressed the importance of accuracy and faithfulness to the information archaeologists provide (Sophronidou 2003: 164-5): 'if you change, for instance, a number, it can change the entire period' (Charalambidou in *idem*: 167). However, they made no distinction between information and interpretation, demonstrating thus a rather uncritical approach.

> In archaeological reportage, you cannot make your own approach, you listen carefully and write what they tell you, there is nothing for you to assume, you are ignorant anyway, your approach is not a

> matter of opinion, it is a matter of the clearest and most specific information and data, you cannot say what you think (Charalambidou in *idem*: 167-8).

A lack of archaeological background limits columnists' ability to understand scientific process and the tentative nature of its results, to separate information and interpretation, and ultimately to engage critically with their informants. The potential of the press to shape a critical public opinion that will contribute to the safeguarding of antiquities, rather than accepting every report at face value is thus compromised. An aspect of this is the perception that only readers of a higher educational background are in position to appreciate the importance of a find (Charalambidou in Sophronidou 2003: 167) instead of the belief that simple, engaging, and accurate writing can attract the attention and interest of more readers. Therefore, with the few exceptions of reports concerning archaeological resource management in which columnists express a more independent and critical view (Sykka 2008; Thermou 2010a, 2010b), one could argue that archaeology in the press is another top-down means of conveying information to the public.

The magazine *Archaeology and the Arts* had been published for almost thirty years before it ended its circulation in December 2010. It published articles on archaeology written by archaeologists and scholars of relevant fields for the broader public. Its closure was attributed to financial constraints alluding to its rather limited readership (for further information see www.arxaiologia.gr).

2.2.7 Archaeology and Local Communities: Public Perceptions of Archaeology and the Past

One of the very few population surveys in Greece on the relationship between the public and archaeology was conducted in the neighbourhood of the archaeological site of Toumba in Thessaloniki (Kotsakis *et al.* 1993). The survey investigated a series of indicators of public attitudes and the ways these are formed. Public education and the media were found to be the two main sources of historical information. Although the largest groups of respondents visited archaeological sites and museums rarely (28%) or with school (39%), they did claim to have an overall knowledge of the archaeological excavations taking place in the city (81%) (*idem*).

In relation to their experience of visiting museums, although most respondents stated that they could not identify artefacts by function or by the type of information they could provide about the past, they could appreciate exhibits according to the value of their material, rarity and aesthetic beauty. It came as no surprise then that respondents could only name the finds of Vergina. While almost half of the participants knew that excavation finds end up in museums, 21% thought it was possible that antiquities are smuggled abroad, 13% that they end up in private collections, 6% that they are lost and 4% that they belong to the archaeologist (Kotsakis *et al.* 1993).

Regarding the archaeological excavation in Toumba, the excavation is visible from a great part of the area's residents' houses and half of the participants stated that they had visited it, they knew who conducted it and what its aims were. However, their impression of the findings and their dating was not correlated to their experience and acquired information. Although they did not necessarily value the findings, they did value the excavation itself (Kotsakis *et al.* 1993).

This survey demonstrated that the public appreciates history primarily because it enforces national identity and secondly, because it is educational. However, the high value of history does not ensure appreciation of the immediate past, which is seen as negative. Therefore, two approaches to the past were identified, in close relation to Merriman's survey results (2000 (1991): 5). The first is the formal one that stems from institutions such as public education and museums, which focuses on history and carries ideological meaning. The second is the more personal one, which is immediately experienced, such as a local excavation, and is emotional and not connected directly with history, in the sense that it is not valued collectively. Although immediate experience does not ensure the valorisation of their local excavation as highly as the finds of Vergina, for instance, this stereotype is so important that they realise that there must be value in the excavation of Toumba, demonstrating thus the high ideological importance of history in Greek society. Again, this valorisation does not ensure a more substantive relationship, not even one related to its contribution on a local level (Kotsakis *et al.* 1993).

More recently a survey of the relationship of the residents of Naxos, an Aegean island, with the monuments of the past was conducted with the aim of supporting this relationship through public participation in protection (Gratsia 2010: 79-80). The survey investigated public perception of the island's cultural heritage and its protection. It showed that everybody was aware and proud of the important history of Naxos and had visited the most iconic monument of the island, Portara, while fewer participants had visited more recently excavated and restored monuments (*idem*: 83).

Regarding protection, 73% of participants stated that responsibility should lie with the Ministry of Culture and Tourism, 50% with the municipality, 23% with

citizens and 4.5% with private companies (Gratsia 2010: 84). In respect to the current situation, 40% of participants believed that the Archaeological Service puts the most effort into preservation, 23% stated the municipality, 12.5% citizens, 4.5% NGOs and 4.5% the universities (*idem*). Eighty per cent of participants were against building hotels and houses close to monuments and 66% against building shops. In a hypothetical scenario of important antiquities being found during the construction of a hotel, 92% were in favour of expropriation, continuation of excavation and enhancement of findings, and only 7% were in favour of 'covering up' the findings and continuing with construction. Participants stated that monuments are mostly threatened by the lack of concern on the part of the State and secondly by development pressure (*idem*: 84).

Finally, 84% of participants stated that the Archaeological Service does not inform them about the monuments and 87% that they would like to be informed by the Ministry and by the municipality; percentages that raise the issue of how much people really know about their local heritage. Sixty per cent of respondents stated that they would be willing to participate in the protection of the monuments. Gratsia (2010: 85) reported that there are individuals and civil groups that react when monuments are threatened in Naxos and that the understanding of the role of heritage in tourist development has contributed to their partial protection.

The survey also demonstrated that the local community of Naxos is not yet aware of ways to take action and therefore, informing them of this should be the first step in their sensitisation. The local government's role in protection was considered particularly significant and critical, which could be taken as the expression of a desire to participate more, since people feel closer to and more connected with their local government. However, it is still questionable as to

whether local governments can assume such responsibility (Gratsia 2010: 85; see also 2.1.4 in regards to the *Code of Municipalities and Communities*).

Other research on the relationship between archaeology, the past and its material remains with local communities in Greece has been conducted within cultural anthropology (Caftanzoglou 2001; Herzfeld 1991; Yalouri 2001), reflexive archaeology (Fotiadis 1993; Sutton and Stroulia 2010) and as part of regional surveys with ethnographic components (Diacopoulos 2004; Forbes 2007; Nixon 2001; Sutton 1997; for a critical appraisal of ethnoarchaeological approaches to modern communities see Fotiadis 1995; Sutton 2000). A review of their points of convergence is useful for framing the case studies presented in this research project.

In most cases, researchers discussed the relationship between archaeology and local communities in terms of scepticism, suspicion and defiance, on behalf of the local community, if not from both sides (Caftanzoglou 2001; Herzfeld 1991), or at best indifference (Deltsou 2009; Stroulia 2002; Stroulia and Sutton 2009; Sutton 1997). The former situation is more expected in cases where monitoring and control of people's activities is necessary for the protection of antiquities (see 2.1.4). The case of the Old Town of Rethymno, as discussed by Herzfeld (1991), or the traditional neighbourhood of Anafiotika in Athens, as investigated by Caftanzoglou (2001) are examples of modern monuments that are still in use.

The extension of protection to include more recent historical periods has meant that residential quarters may be also declared monuments. Herzfeld investigated the relationship between archaeology and the local community of the Old Town of Rethymnon. The Old Town is considered the best-preserved and largest residential complex of late medieval and early Renaissance

architecture in the Mediterranean today (Herzfeld 1991: 34). This necessitated its listing as a historic settlement and the monitoring and control of any activity that affects it by the local Ephorate. The growing and changing needs of the Old Town's residents multiplied the complexities and the issues conservation was faced with, especially at a time of transition towards tourism development (*idem)*.

Herzfeld dealt with a series of aspects of this representative relationship. Issues of real and symbolic ownership and value of the past and its remains were prevalent, considering that the Old Town mainly consists of private property, especially as they developed in the context of a bureaucratic mechanism. Finally, in Rethymnon, the Ephorate needed to explain the protection of residential Ottoman architecture, as opposed to ruinous Classical temples such as the Parthenon commonly associated with archaeology, to people who had appropriated the national narrative in order to challenge its authority and decisions (Herzfeld 1991: 257-9).

In a similar investigation, Caftanzoglou (2001) raised further the social implications of state archaeological research management as they were revealed in the issue of Anafiotika, a neighbourhood that immigrants from the Aegean island of Anafi built illegally at the foot of the Acropolis rock in the middle of the nineteenth century, when they came to work in the construction of Athens. The neighbourhood's demolition has been discussed since the end of the nineteenth century due to its location at the north-eastern slope of the so-called 'Sacred Rock' in the context of a constant struggle between the dominant discourse on antiquities and the narratives of the social groups that have lived in the area. Except for a few houses that were finally demolished and others that have been expropriated, the neighbourhood's future remains unknown even to the Archaeological Service. During the whole process, the responsible

authorities never considered the local community in their decisions (*idem*: 154). This is a showcase of the contrasts and complications with which the country is still trying to cope in dealing with the complexity of its own past. It also demonstrates how authorities that do not fulfil the obligations under which they maintain power, can be exposed to criticism by subaltern groups who can prove that the authority have broken their social contract (*idem*: 291).

The cases where the relationship between archaeology and local communities is described as indifferent tend more often to involve archaeological sites or research projects, in which the local community is not interested — at least not in the way dictated by their archaeological significance, as this is determined externally. However, this is considered to be a superficial indifference that requires greater investigation to reveal the ways the local community really relates to the sites, and the meanings of the sites that are most important to them (Deltsou 2009: 187). It may also be a result of regional surveys, which people do not readily identify with archaeological work (Fotiadis 1993: 160-1).

Deltsou conducted ethnographic research in the town of Vasiliko, in the northern Peloponnese, as part of the Ancient Sikyon Survey. She noted that the local community ignored the presence of the survey team. 'People don't care about antiquities' was the answer given when asked about living close to important antiquities. However, investigation demonstrated that various conditions had led the locals to a sense of loss of value and 'depreciation' of their local site and of inferiority in comparison to other sites of the area. This had resulted in an anti-hegemonic discourse challenging the value of these other sites. Among the causes were the Ephorate's indifference to conducting further research in Sikyon, the fact that property owners have to pay for rescue excavations necessary to acquire building and other permits, and the

continuous archaeological works taking place in places like Corinthos, which was thus considered more important than Sikyon (Deltsou 2009: 181-2, 184).

This mutual indifference between archaeology and the local community is even expressed in spatial terms, in the way archaeological sites are developed at the borders of communities but without any connection to them so that they thus constitute two parallel worlds. Sutton, who conducted ethnographic research in Heraklion, the village next to the archaeological site of ancient Nemea, compared the situation to the operation of two tectonic plates: 'they generally float independently, hovering near one another without touching, sometimes they crash into each other in violent upheavals, and only occasionally do they meld together'. She attributed this to site production processes that operate as distancing mechanisms (Sutton 1997: 31), alluding to Giddens' disembedding mechanisms in regard to archaeological resource management (see 2.1.5).

Stroulia conducted ethnographic research on the 1960s and 1970s excavation by Indiana University of the Franchthi cave in northeastern Peloponnese, almost thirty years after its completion. Regarding her own fieldwork in the local community of Kiladha, she noted the suspicions of a local who did not believe she was an archaeologist because she was not digging but instead was talking to people, and furthermore asking them to tell her about the archaeological site and the excavation. Such perceptions reflect the fear of archaeologists and their association with spies, especially foreign ones (see also Herzfeld 1991: 47-54), or census takers and tax collectors (see also Fotiadis 1993: 161, see also 3.2.2), and enforce the separation between the two communities.

Stroulia and Sutton adopted the term 'landscape dissonance' to describe the indifference, confusion, antagonism and resentfulness between local communities and archaeological sites. They attributed it to the processes of the

formation of European interest in Greek antiquities, and of a national identity based on the protection of some of its most fundamental constituent parts, archaeological sites and monuments (Stroulia and Sutton 2009: 127-33). Fotiadis attributed what he perceived as a symbolic and subtle 'resistance' among the local population to 'a dimension of power at our [the archaeologists'] heels' that consists of conscious efforts to expel modernity from archaeological work, of elements of census taking in archaeological methods and the intensity of archaeological work during fieldwork (1993: 151, 153, 162-5; on the similarity of archaeology to census taking and other means of state surveillance and control, see also Anderson 1991: 163-85).

Personal relationships are also developed. Deltsou (2009: 184) referred to the different meanings antiquities guards, former excavation workers and local 'antiquaries' attributed to antiquities. Although they engage a lot more than the rest of the local community with the formal discourse on the role of antiquities for the nation and their contribution to development, they also maintain their personal memories and emotions. They develop an individual identity and acquire a particular place, albeit some times ambivalent, in the local community (*idem*: 184-5). Fotiadis even attributed the role of protectors to the team's landlords and neighbours from his own experience of conducting a regional survey in the area of Kozani, northern Greece (Fotiadis 1993: 159). Stroulia elaborated on the closer relationship that the excavators maintained with their landlords and how it lasted even after the end of the project (Stroulia 2002: 109-10).

Although the majority of researchers acknowledge that their projects would not have been possible without the contribution of the local communities in terms of services, others have attributed even the few closer relationships that do form to the economic profit members of the local community are in position to

make (Hourmouziadi and Touloumis 2010: 323-4), an approach that overlooks the proximity and longevity of contact such relationships entail (see 5.1.4).

Local myths and stories are also commonly encountered. These are considered to encapsulate local interpretations of the archaeological material or even to legitimise an anti-hegemonic discourse. In an example of the former case, the skeletal remains in the Franchthi cave were attributed to Cyclopes because of the local association of the Franchthi cave with that of Cyclop Polyphemos in the *Odyssey*, where Odysseus was trapped with his comrades on his way back to Ithaca (Stroulia 2002: 107; for more cases of association of ancestors with Cyclops see Kakrides 1989). In the latter case, the locals of ancient Nemea assign cultural significance to a cave identified by them as the place where Herakles met the Nemean Lion in his first task, and contrast it to the official archaeological site (Sutton 1997: 31; Stroulia and Sutton 2009: 126-7, 130). Deltsou describes the way that locals challenged the team's authority by presenting its members with stories of yet unknown archaeological sites in the area (2009: 186). Finally, Caftanzoglou relates a popular story among the residents of Anafiotika, which attributes the foundation of their neighbourhood to King Otto himself (2001: 272-83).

The nature of the archaeological remains concerned in each case plays a determinant role in the relationship with the local community. First of all, their physical features, whether they are monumental or not, impacts on the impression they make to the layperson. However, this feature is related to their chronology. Therefore, prehistoric remains are rarely monumental and thus have little chances of impressing anyone with their physical features (Stroulia 2002: 102, 109). The same applies to the surface finds of regional surveys (Fotiadis 1993; Nixon 2001). The exceptions are precious artefacts that are valued anyway for their material, and the Minoan and Mycenaean time

periods, which are included in the glorious eras of the Greek past (Voutsaki 2004).

These attributes also prescribe the significance of remains in the national narrative. At the same time, their significance predetermines their international reputation and consequently the level of intervention on the site by the Archaeological Service, the extent of site interpretation, especially whether it is developed in a separate heritage attraction, such as a site museum, and site construction processes in general (see above in relation to 'landscape dissonance'). As a consequence, high visitor numbers and public interest in a site distil more pride in the local community and raise the importance of archaeological heritage for local identity. To counterbalance the benefits, the more significant an archaeological site is the less likely it is that the local community will have any say over it or informal experience of it.

However, even in the case of the Acropolis, arguably the most important and visited archaeological site in the country, it seems that its local community experiences it through its every day interaction with it and not only through archaeological and other related significance (Yalouri 2001: 155-6, 191). In the same sense, the local community cannot perceive the Franchthi cave as an archaeological site because for them it is a natural formation, part of their experience of living in the area, of their past memories, their every day life and their future. They also have no control of the Franchthi archaeological site, as it belongs to others, the archaeologists. As such it does not even constitute a source of revenue for them (Stroulia 2002: 112-3).

Local people therefore often cannot perceive archaeological finds as actual artefacts of archaeological interest. Especially in relation to prehistoric excavations and to surface surveys, people often associate finds with pebbles,

tiles, children's toys and rubbish. Locals in Kiladha did not remember any of the finds from the cave other than the skeletal remains, demonstrating the particular fascination that these and precious materials such as gold have on popular imagination (Stroulia 2002: 107, 110). Nixon reported on the change in the way the local community in Sphakia regarded their finds: at first, they considered them appropriate for children, as they used to give glazed sherds to children to play with, and with rubbish. With time, people came to appreciate the effort the team was making in order to learn by watching and asking questions and started to treat their work with respect and even brought sherds to them. By the end of the project, the local community had changed their opinion about the finds of their area and asked the archaeologists whether they could exhibit their finds, having realised their value and gained pride in them (Nixon 2001: 82).

The longevity of archaeological work, and the identity and nationality of the body that carries it out (e.g. a Foreign School, the Archaeological Service or a university department), also determine the relationship between archaeology and the local community. Stroulia noted that the local people's distance and lack of interaction with the team was not only due to the foreignness of the two communities. The excavation in Franchthi (1967-76) was entangled in broader politics because an American university had run it during the days of the American-backed Junta in Greece (Stroulia 2002: 108; for a further discussion of the reception of Foreign Schools see Hamilakis 2007: 48-51). Archaeological Service archaeologists seem to enjoy a less favourable reputation among people because they do not conduct research excavations, i.e. 'real archaeology' but instead they perform autopsies to ensure the application of the law (Hamilakis 2007: 37-8).

Very few examples of efforts to engage the local community before or during the research reported are mentioned in the literature. Where cases exist, the most common is that of a museum that hosts finds from the local site, although on some occasions too far away to be visited by the local community (Stroulia 2002: 103, 111) or closed due to renovation for too long to have any impact on their relationship (Deltsou 2009: 181-2). On the other hand, Stroulia recorded locals' complaints that the archaeologists had been reluctant to share findings with them and that once the fieldwork was over they had 'vanished'. Locals admitted that the archaeologists had organised a slide presentation but they 'were busy trying to make money those days' (Stroulia 2002: 108), completing the picture of mutual indifference.

At Franchthi other archaeologists have occasionally adopted different strategies, as the locals remembered even years later. They often showed survey finds to locals, once invited them to the cave for hands-on experience, and sent archaeological information regarding the cave to the high school principal (Stroulia 2002: 110). More recently, the Director of the project also organised an experimental pottery workshop (Stroulia and Sutton 2009: 133). Similarly, a film was prepared as part of the Sphakia Survey, and while the team had not planned from the beginning to screen it for the locals, it proved an excellent way to report back, share their results and inspire pride in them (Nixon 2001: 82-5, 87-9). In another case, the re-enactment of the Nemean Games in the ancient stadium has been established as a successful initiative in bringing together research team, local community and many more participants. It has been organised at almost regular intervals since 1996 (Stroulia and Sutton 2009: 134).

The archaeological sites discussed in the literature have very little economic relevance for the local communities. Major archaeological sites that have helped

local economies to flourish have not yet become the focus of similar research, largely because they constitute exceptions to the rule. In most cases, even those situated in the middle of Athens-based tourist routes, there are no shops for souvenirs or cafeterias and snack bars for the visitors (Deltsou 2009; Stroulia and Sutton 2009: 126; Sutton 1997: 32). The economic relevance is thus usually discussed as a potential (Stroulia 2002: 111).

The nature of the local community also determines its relationship with archaeology. In recognition of this, the researchers mentioned above have devoted a considerable part of their work to the discussion of the modern history, the local economy and the social background of the people currently living in the area. Whether the community is an urban or rural, montane or coastal, agricultural, stock-breeding or fishing one offers the first hints as to the anticipated relations and meanings people make of the material culture of the past and of its self-proclaimed stewards (Nixon 2001: 80-2; Stroulia 2002: 101, 106-9).

The impact archaeology makes on a local community is also determined by the nature of the community and its relationship with local archaeological heritage. For instance, although archaeological research at the Franchthi cave made the cave unusable by the local community (Stroulia 2002: 111), the use of the cave had in any case been marginal (e.g. stock-breeding, picnics, children's games) and its loss does not seem to have impacted significantly on local life, although this is something only the locals can say. The control of the activities of the residents in the Old Town of Rethymnon made by the Archaeological Service, such as building (Herzfeld 1991), have had a much more disruptive effect.

Finally, a few of the researchers have gone so far as to make suggestions about what archaeologists should do to improve their relationship with the

communities that live around the sites they work on. Stroulia and Sutton (2010: 134-6), for instance, object to top-down approaches and encourage a direct conversation between archaeologists and locals with the aim of developing collaborative archaeology before the start of fieldwork. Furthermore, they advocate a 'genuine interest in local lives and concerns, beyond any connection to the past and archaeology' (*idem*: 128, 133-7).

2.2.9 Archaeology and NGOs

The *Hellenic Society for the Protection of the Environment and Cultural Heritage* has been the most important NGO in Greece with relevance to archaeological resource management since it was founded in 1972 as a reaction to the extensive destruction of monuments during the Colonels' Junta. Its contribution to struggles for the safeguarding of the iconic area of Plaka in Athens and of Delphi has been of great importance. The Hellenic Society also claims to have contributed to the formulation of article 24 of the Greek constitution (see 2.1.4) (Hellenic Society 2011).

Another NGO, called *Diazoma,* has recently appeared in the area of conservation of ancient theatres. It was founded by an ex-Minister of Culture and aims to preserve ancient theatres and fundraise for their restoration and integration in everyday life. The organisation is currently fundraising for the preservation of almost 20 ancient theatres (Diazoma 2011).

Another example is the not-for-profit *Monumenta,* mainly represented through the e-magazine under the same name, which promotes awareness, protection, proper management and enhancement of the natural and architectural heritage of Greece and Cyprus. Apart from the e-magazine, *Monumenta* plays an activist role and proceeds to legal measures when monuments are perceived to be

under threat (Monumenta 2011). One of its better-known activities is called *Local Communities and Monuments* (Lekakis 2008: 314; Gratsia and Lekakis 2010; for further information see http://topikeskoinoniesmnimeia.wordpress.com/). (For a review of how these organisations operate within Greek archaeological resource management, see Sakellariadi 2008).

2.2.10 Archaeology and Civil Society

Despite the role of NGOs, the most active engagement has proven to be that undertaken by the people themselves. Local communities have organised themselves to deal with the Archaeological Service since the nineteenth century. Examples include the representatives of the Castriots, then residents of the village on top of the archaeological site of Delphi (Amandry 1992; Skorda 1992), the residents of the Athenian Agora (Sakka 2008), and the current citizens movements which have been created to oppose specific activities (e.g. the declassification of two monuments of modern architecture threatened with demolition in order to open the view between the Acropolis and the New Museum in Athens http://areopagitou17.blogspot.com/) or in general to take the safeguarding of their local site into their hands because of what they see as indifference on the part of the Archaeological Service (e.g. the local community of the Philopappou Hill opposite the Acropolis in Athens http://filopappou.wordpress.com/).

Even within the exclusive and authoritarian framework of Greek archaeological resource management there are still ways, albeit few, in which individual members of the public can pursue their interest in the past and its material culture. Apart from those mentioned above, there are also local history societies, associations of friends of museums, survivals of indigenous archaeologies, some of the older ancient theatre festivals, and blogging (e.g. the

blog set up by Nikos Psychogyios in order to present the rescue excavation that took place in his plot http://kavrochori-eng.blogspot.com/). There are other, more controversial modes of engagement as well, such as the case of a group of 'antiquaries' who dig illicitly in order to enrich their private collections (Antoniadou 2009), groups of metal detectors who operate in connection with foreign coin dealers, and 'twelve gods' worshipers, who also challenge the political authority of the Greek state. All of these cases deserve further and more detailed investigation that cannot be pursued in the context of this research project. However, they can offer important information on how and why people engage with the past in the ways they choose to do so.

2.3 Conclusions

That archaeology plays a central role in the nation building process is clear from the discussion of its political context at the start of this chapter. A review of the historical development of the Archaeological Service however shows that the resources available for archaeology have never corresponded to the national importance attributed to it. This is explained by the fact that the state could never have provided the necessary resources for the universal protection the Constitution envisages, and has always had other more pressing priorities which archaeologists have not so far succeeded in making themselves relevant to (e.g. increasing income through cultural tourism). On the contrary, the emphasis on protection and conservation within the context prescribed by its political role — the dominance of the Classical past and an art-historical approach — has occasionally made archaeology a perceived impediment to development.

The same applies to the presentation of archaeology to the public, within both the contexts of museums and public education. Even the presentation of

archaeology in the press, presumably a more independent agent, has followed the same trajectory.

These conditions have in turn influenced the relationship of archaeology with local communities all over the country. Overall, history and archaeology are mostly appreciated for supporting national identity. The critical understanding and appreciation of history and archaeology of Greece play a very small, if any, part in it. Local antiquities are valued in the same way.

More recent research has shown that the role of archaeologists in information sharing and knowledge building in local communities could support efforts for protection. The Archaeological Service is currently carrying out protective work with great difficulty on the local level. It is just as difficult for local communities to understand this work and its necessity, especially in the case of non-monumental heritage, to appreciate its processes and to cope with its financial consequences and also social consequences. The resulting relationship limits the potentials of both sides.

This is of course not the case for every local community or for every individual within the same community. As communities may be as varied as their individual members, there are people who develop more personal relationships and come closer to archaeologists and their work, and the same applies to archaeologists. In any case, the meaning a local community makes out of its archaeological site depends greatly on the nature of its every day relationship with it. It can either derive pride and enrichment of its local identity from it or, in the opposite case, feelings of depreciation and devaluation.

Research has identified a series of other factors that influence the relationship between archaeology and local communities, such as the duration of

archaeological work and its agent, opportunities for public engagement, economic relevance, the nature of the local community and the exact impact of the specific archaeological work taking place.

Although it becomes clear that archaeologists have never really engaged critically with the public in Greece, and with local communities in particular, further scrutiny shows that people have found ways to engage anyway with the past and archaeology regardless. It was necessary for this research project to consider the complex set of conditions described above in advance. Their inclusion through the choice of appropriate methods of investigation is discussed in the next chapter.

CHAPTER THREE. METHODOLOGY

3.1 The scope of this thesis

The subject of this thesis (see Introduction) is the relationship between local communities and Greek archaeology, be it the material remains, the sites and site museums, the field as a practice or a discipline, the responsible service or any other institution that practices archaeology and of course, the community of archaeologists, as varied as it is in practice, including students and professionals, foreigners and Greeks, state employees, and academics and their research associates. When considering local communities, one has to take into account their geographical, political, economic, social and cultural specificities. The temporal and spatial axes are defined as those of the Greek state from its foundation (1830) up to the present day, thus setting the broader context within the realms of the nation-state, its ideology and its legislative and administrative frameworks.

The main aim is as stated, to identify the role that archaeology has played in Greece, in socio-political and economic terms. More specifically, the research questions this thesis attempts to answer are:

1. What has the relationship between archaeology and local communities been in Greece in terms of its social, economic and political impact? How and why has this relationship developed?
2. What are the public values of archaeology in Greece and how have they altered under the influence of socio-political and economic change?
3. What are the current aims and the objectives of Greek archaeology as identified in the priorities of the Archaeological Service?

4. What strategies might archaeology implement in Greece in order to reinforce its socio-political and economic role and become more reciprocal and relevant?

The ultimate question this research project raises is: 'for whom is archaeology practiced in Greece?'

3.2 Research design and methods

In order to answer these questions, three archaeological sites and their adjacent communities were selected, and the subject was approached through qualitative and quantitative methods. The choice of case studies and data sources is discussed below.

3.2.1 Case Studies and Data Sources

This research project is based on three case studies in order to achieve 'an empirical inquiry that investigates a contemporary phenomenon within its real-life context' (Yin 2003: 13). The relationship between archaeology and local communities is investigated through observed literal and theoretical replications of three cases: the archaeological sites of Philippi (Kavala) and the Dispilio (Kastoria) in northern Greece, and Delphi in central Greece (plate 1).

These case studies were chosen because previous knowledge indicated them to be critical in terms of the nature of archaeological remains and of the archaeology practiced, social, economic and political factors, and their visibility within the archaeological landscape of the country. Delphi was chosen for the additional reason of extending the scope of the research in geographical terms. The particular features of each case study and the way they contribute to the analysis of the issues at hand are discussed in Chapter Four.

In the cases of Krenides and Dispilio, both qualitative and quantitative data were collected: the quantified opinions, beliefs and viewpoints of the populations of the local communities and the qualitative opinions, beliefs and viewpoints of identified stakeholders, documentary evidence, researcher's observations. The case of Delphi was mainly investigated quantitatively through a questionnaire survey of its population. In total, I spent two months in Krenides, almost a month in Dispilio and a week in Delphi. The differences were a result of the direction of the development of the research plan, as time for the completion of the project was lessened and as the data grew more and more robust (for a detailed account of the data used see Appendix II).

3.2.2 Quantitative Research Methods

In order to understand local community perceptions of archaeology in as broad a range as possible, a questionnaire survey was conducted among the populations of the three case studies through structured interviews (for the Questionnaire see Appendix III, for frequency distribution and contingency tables see Appendix IV). Similar research conducted in the United States, Canada, Britain, Italy and Greece was consulted and questions from them were intentionally incorporated so that the results can be compared (Balme and Wilson 2004; Matsuda 2009; Merriman 2000 (1991); Pokotylo and Guppy 1999; Prince and Schadla-Hall 1985; Ramos and Duganne 2000).

Stratified random sampling was used on the basis of gender and age groups according to the population profile of the local communities from the last national census (Nardi 2003: 104; Hellenic Statistical Authority 2011a). I approached every second person that walked by after the end of an interview. A refusal rate was not recorded because its importance was underestimated at

the beginning of the survey. I chose to apply a strict geographical definition of a 'local community' and so I included only people who lived in the modern settlement next to each archaeological site. I conducted the survey in open public spaces at all times of the day in all three communities: streets, cafes, taxi stands, bars, supermarkets, produce markets and bus stops. It turned out to be extremely difficult to approach foreign immigrant communities in all areas except for Delphi. I came across many immigrants in Krenides but it was extremely difficult to convince them to participate. The reasons they gave varied but were mainly based on language, understanding and their ability to express themselves. Delphi was the only local community where immigrants agreed to participate.

I approached potential participants by asking if I could ask them a question. When they stopped I asked them if they lived in Dispilio, Krenides or Delphi accordingly. If they turned out to be members of the local community, even very recent ones, I went on to explain that I was a research student and that I was conducting a survey regarding the relationship of the local community with the archaeological site and the archaeologists for the purposes of my studies. A pilot survey of 1% of the population of Krenides took place in September 2007. The final version of the questionnaire was used initially in Dispilio (August 2008), then in Krenides (September 2008) and finally in Delphi (May 2009). The data were analysed using SPSS 14 and 17 (Statistical Package for the Social Sciences).

The questionnaire included both open-ended and closed questions. I specifically chose to include open-ended questions in order to allow participants to express themselves in their own words on issues that have been rarely researched in detail so far. I tried to maintain a balance with closed

questions in order to limit subjectivity and facilitate coding at the stage of analysis (Nardi 2003: 64-65).

Overall the questionnaire was divided into four parts, and the questions were ordered according to the following logic (see Appendix III). The first section consisted of demographic questions to determine the participant's social background and to develop a rapport with them. I chose to start with demographic questions based on the assumption that simpler, routine questions would 'break the ice' more easily (Nardi 2003: 80). The second section inquired about participants' perceptions of archaeology and its relevance to contemporary life. The third investigated their relationship with local archaeology and their level of engagement with it, while the final section dealt with their engagement with other local cultural stimuli.

The quantitative analysis is based on the analysis of frequency distributions and their cross-tabulations with demographics. Only cross-tabulations that have been found to reject the null hypothesis were considered. The confidence interval was set to 95% as the case usually is in social research (Levin *et al.* 2010: 187-93). Although participants' answers were grouped in detail, because of their small size (98 in Krenides, 102 in Dispilio and 84 in Delphi) analysis of the samples required bigger groups and therefore a level of detail was lost. Apart from gender, which is quite straightforward, three age groups were used: 18 to 39 year-olds, 40 to 64 year olds and 65 years and older, in accordance with those used by the Hellenic Statistical Authority.

In regard to employment, participants were grouped according to sector[8] (NACE A-B: primary, NACE C-F: secondary, NACE G-Q: tertiary and unemployed, undergraduate/graduate students, retired and housewives) and then regrouped in the two categories of employed and unemployed (table 3). For education, participants were grouped into those who graduated primary (6 years), junior high (9 years), high school (12 years) and any other post high school studies. Then these were regrouped into those who had graduated from compulsory education (9 years) or less, and those who had graduated from more than compulsory education (12 years) (table 4).

Participants were also grouped into three groups according to how many years they had been living in the particular community. Another category was that of visitor type, according to whether participants visited other archaeological sites or museums less than once every three years, once every three years, about once a year, more than once a year, or had never done so. Finally engagement with local cultural stimuli, such as the Philippi Festival of ancient drama, the designation of the area of Dispilio under 'Natura 2000' protection and the inclusion of Delphi on the World Heritage List was used to further elaborate on these distributions.

I believe that the fact that I conducted the questionnaire survey using a sole interviewer, myself, benefited my research. First, it added to its consistency. Some of the issues discussed are not easy for participants to instantly grasp and talk about, such as discussing the value of archaeology. I therefore made sure that I used the same approach with each participant. I also tried to keep an

[8] In accordance to the categories the Hellenic Statistical Authority uses, NACE A-B includes agriculture, farming, fishing, mining and quarrying, NACE C-F includes manufacturing, electricity and water providors and construction and NACE G-Q includes trade and services (for further details see Statistical Classification of Economic Activities in the European Community: http://ec.europa.eu/competition/mergers/cases/index/nace_all.html).

accurate written account of each interview, and built a collection of any further comments to every answer for use as part of the qualitative analysis.

The drawbacks of conducting a questionnaire survey with interviews and more specifically, the role of the interviewer are extensively discussed in the literature (Nardi 2003, for more references). In any case unexpected issues do emerge in the field, and this happened mainly in Krenides and Dispilio, where the local communities I surveyed were small. Their population varies from 3,323 to 1,110 people respectively. It soon became clear that participants were not accustomed to taking part in surveys of this kind. For instance, despite my assurances that the questionnaire was anonymous and the obvious lack of any question that could be used to identify any specific individual, no participants were comfortable with the suggested use of a digital recorder, which led me to abandon the idea entirely.

Suspicion, another behaviour commonly noted in social anthropological research (Caftanzoglou 2001; Herzfeld 1991; Stroulia 2002), especially on the part of older male participants, was expressed in serious or more humorous terms. A couple of participants asked me if in reality I was a journalist carrying a hidden camera and microphone who would expose them on television, under the obvious influence of popular TV shows whose presenters they mentioned. Someone else asked me if I was going to pass the questionnaires on to the Directorate of Financial Affairs (tax service). Another participant asked whether I was asking such questions because I was from Skopje, as he said that I looked Skopjan to him. In Macedonia this could be translated as asking whether I came from the 'enemy'.

Another stopped replying in the middle of the questionnaire and told me that he would only continue if I told 'them' to move the Ministry of Culture and

Tourism to Albania. There were also other comments of a more social character, such as how old I was and how come I was still a student and what did my father do and how could I afford to be a student at such an age. I replied to all such comments by further explaining to the participant the context of my research, without at the same time going into details. I recorded all comments on the questionnaire forms and in my fieldwork notes, and I have included them in my analysis. I took such comments to reflect common understanding of the political nature of the topic discussed (for a discussion of the especially political role of archaeology in Macedonia, see 2.1.2) and of students, student life and the value of doctoral degrees in the Greek employment market as well as expressions of these local communities' social lives and the problems they currently cope with.

It is noteworthy that it was only male participants who challenged me in this way in the field and only in Krenides and Dispilio. Although it is almost as small as the smallest of my case studies (Delphi has 1,474 residents and Dispilio 1,110), similar incidents did not occur in Delphi. Individual participants commented on how they liked the questions in my questionnaires, how they found it engaging and others even thanked me for doing the survey and finally asking for their opinion and their thoughts. I tried to elaborate further on this experience in my fieldwork notes and to understand it in the light of the rest of the analysis.

Lack of research experience did lead me to a couple of oversights. For instance, the question about the frequency of visits to the local archaeological sites asked for the last visit in Krenides and Dispilio but the frequency of visits in Delphi, although the same time scale was used for both cases. The question regarding the validity of archaeological research and archaeologists' results, initially included in the survey in Dispilio, was not included in the survey in Krenides.

However the potential for fruitful comparisons was not lost because it was included in the final survey that took place in Delphi. Finally, I had not realised that there was confusion among locals in Dispilio as to exactly which area constituted the archaeological site. This confusion may sometimes be the result of intentional misinformation, as in the case of how the area of the Ecomuseum, or the 'huts' as it is often referred to by the locals, is called the 'archaeological site' by the local church representative in order to remove the 'threat of archaeology' from the actual site in the immediate proximity of the church of the Ascension. In any case, it is also not surprising because the area of the Ecomuseum evokes more of what a venerated archaeological site should look like rather than the actual area where the excavation is taking place, and which is often referred to as the 'holes' by the locals.

3.2.3 Qualitative Research Methods

Qualitative data and analysis was used to provide a broader context for the results of the questionnaire survey. I conducted 29 semi-structured interviews with archaeologists from the local and the central services of the Ministry of Culture and Tourism as well as archaeologists from other institutions that conduct research in the areas (14) and influential members of the local communities, such as mayors and other members of the municipal council, representatives of the church, members of the local youth club, research associations and educational centres (15) (for a detailed list see Appendix II). All interviews were conducted in person except for one with an archaeologist regarding the case of Dispilio that was conducted via email.

The comments participants to the questionnaire survey made while they were interviewed were recorded in hand notes that were later transcribed and further analysed, while other, unstructured and informal interviews were

improvised when the opportunity arose either with locals or among archaeologists. These were recorded in fieldwork notes.

Extensive textual resources of varied provenance were used. Purposive archival research was carried out with the back issues of the only local newspaper in Krenides, in the archives of the Municipalities of Philippi and Makednon and in the ICOMOS Documentation Centre in regard to the inscription of Delphi on the World Heritage List. The proceedings of conferences organised by the Association of Greek Archaeologists and the Ministry of Culture and Tourism were also researched to discern historically stated aims and motivations.

Newspaper articles from the period of September 2006 to January 2011 that were relevant to archaeological resources management and archaeology in general, were also used from two of the most popular daily newspapers in Greece, *To Vima* and *Kathimerini*. I selected these two newspapers for several reasons. Their Sunday editions feature in the four most popular in the country throughout the period of my research. They specifically employ correspondents for archaeological features. Each one is also commonly considered to represent, and therefore address, slightly different areas of the political spectrum, the former being centre-left and the latter centre-right. All interview transcripts, fieldwork notes, newspaper articles and archival documents were analysed with the use of the Nvivo software package for qualitative analysis.

To gain easier access to and better rapport with the participants, I drew from my past experience of the sites of Philippi and Dispilio and their communities as an undergraduate student of archaeology during three (2000-2) and two excavation seasons (1996-7) respectively. I therefore turned to people I already knew, one of the former workers of the university excavation in Philippi and a research associate of the one in Dispilio. They acted as mediators at least in the

initial stages of my research and occasionally introduced me to members of the communities that they thought they could inform me on the issues I was concerned with. I had no prior knowledge of Delphi other than that of a visitor.

The questionnaire survey was a good excuse for me to socialise with the local communities, to walk around and to talk to people. My overt presence helped me gain a better understanding of each situation in many ways; it allowed me to ask more straightforward questions and also to identify among the people I met those who could contribute in more specific ways in my research (more about this below). I also realised that many people were relieved to find me around and talk to me. They said that they often want to talk to archaeologists but that they are never around to listen to them and their complaints. More specifically, participants in Delphi often complained that for so many years nobody had asked them what they think about archaeology.

I also tried to take advantage of special opportunities for observation, such as the church fair on Ascension Day in Dispilio. Although it was not in my original research plans to attend the celebrations, because many survey participants had brought them up as one of the points of tension between the Archaeological Service, the local community and more specifically, the church, I travelled on the day to attend the festivities and appreciate the size and the importance of this event for the area.

Although at the time I was on each site I had the feeling that I had gained adequate rapport with the communities, the cool reception I received when I briefly visited them again, helped me realise that I was not conducting an anthropological research project. Having said that I also need to emphasise the fact that with the exception to a degree of Krenides, the two other communities are small in size. It is possible to walk down all their streets within an hour, for

instance. This meant that my presence was noticed very quickly and within a very short period of time locals got used to me and eventually stopped to chat to me as a matter of course. This also increased the opportunities to meet people who could contribute in more specific ways, such as current and ex members of the local administration. Krenides is larger than the other two settlements and although I did not confine my presence to its centre only, most people there also became familiar with my presence very quickly. There too, it was relatively easy to come across participants who could contribute to my research with their personal experience, such as employees of the Ministry of Culture and Tourism who were affected by the management policies of the Ministry.

3.3. Limitations of the Methodology

None of the choices inherent in an approach to data gathering for a research project come without consequences. All come with issues to be identified, realised and addressed. These issues are accentuated by the constraints of time and research experience inherent in any doctoral research project. It may well, for example, have increased the level of detail in the analysis to include double the number of participants in the questionnaire surveys undertaken in each case study, and interviewing even more members of the local administration or archaeologists would have enabled a more refined analysis of their opinions. In the end, the more replications of findings, literal or theoretical, the greater is the certainty of the inferences. Had I realised sooner the confusion between the archaeological site and the Ecomuseum in Dispilio I would have been able to further explore the origins of that confusion, and whether it is intentional or not. However, I believe that the total data that was collected was sufficient for formulating robust theoretical propositions and for sufficient instances of replication of finds so as to meaningfully inform someone on the phenomena under study and indicate promising areas for future research.

3.4 My Approach

Finally, I took a reflective approach to my own research. I tried to be constantly aware of what my data were and where they came from and to make use of and interpret even my own experience. I acknowledge that my own preconceptions were crucial to my inferences, to the results of my study and to my appreciation of the situation I am studying. At no point during my research did I hide the fact that I was an archaeologist with a specialisation in public archaeology, who had been trained within Greek archaeology.

3.5 Presentation of Data

All interviews were conducted with the written consent of the interviewees. The participants' personal data have been retained under the provisions of the UK Data Protection Act. Only features relevant to the analysis have been disclosed. Concealment of the archaeological sites and the local communities was rejected because it was deemed that it would compromise the analytic potential of the case studies by rendering unusable a series of their features. In the end, this is not a study of individuals or the case studies themselves. Its aim is to discuss inferences that can lead to theoretical propositions regarding the relationship between local communities and Greek archaeology.

All research for this project was conducted in Greek and all data were collected in Greek, with the exception of the questionnaire of one English-speaking participant. In-depth interviews were transcribed in Greek. A further translation of the transcripts to English was deemed unnecessary and too time-consuming with regard to the scope of the project. Wherever it was deemed necessary to quote an interviewee, I am solely responsible for the translation.

Wherever Greek words have been transliterated to English, I am responsible for the transliteration and aware of the problems surrounding it. I have taken all of the pictures included in this thesis unless otherwise stated.

CHAPTER FOUR. CASE STUDIES

4.1 Case Study 1: The Archaeological Site of Philippi and the local community of Krenides, Kavala in north-eastern Greece

4.1.1 Introduction

The archaeological site of Philippi is located in north-eastern Greece, in the eastern part of Macedonia (plate 1, Appendix V), in a valley surrounded by Mounts Paggeon (west), Orvilos and Falakron (north), Lekani (east) and Symvolon (south). It lies 16 km away from the city of Kavala and 21 km from that of Drama. Krenides is the closest modern settlement to the archaeological site; it lies right outside the eastern city walls and on the remains of the eastern cemetery (plate 2). A smaller village, Lydia, lies further to the west of the site, on the remains of the western cemetery. Krenides is the local community included in this research project because of its immediate proximity to the archaeological site of Philippi.

The national road that links the cities of Kavala and Drama used to run through the archaeological site of Philippi and the modern settlements (plate 5). In 2008 a diversion was constructed around them and visitors to the site do not cross the modern settlements anymore. The diversion has caused great disappointment among the local residents of Krenides who feel that businesses that used to benefit from passers-by lost customers. It has also been regarded as a frontier that cuts their community's economy off from the benefit of the thousands of visitors to the site.

Krenides was the capital of the Municipality of Philippi until 31 December 2010. Since 1 January 2011 the former municipality is part of the Municipality of

Kavala. Krenides has 3,323 residents, almost a third of the total population of the former municipality (Hellenic Statistical Authority 2011a). The area's residents are Greek, either native or refugees from Eastern Thrace, Pontos and Asia Minor, who migrated to the area during the population exchanges after the Lausanne Treaty between Greece and Turkey (1923) and the settlement of almost 1,200,000 people in a country of approximately 5,500,000 (Kontogiorgi 2006: 282). Since then populations from the former Soviet Union and other East-European countries have also moved in Krenides and in newly founded settlements in the area.

The economy of the area is predominantly agricultural. The Philippi marshes were drained to accommodate the agricultural activities of the refugees so that they contribute to the country's economy after 1923. Today one third of the former municipality's surface is arable land. The main products of the area are maize, wheat, beet and cotton. There are approximately 1,378 cultivated fields and approximately 2,000-2,200 field owners in the whole municipality. However the average age of farmers varies between 50 and 65 years, an alarming indication of the fact that young people are no longer willing to work in agriculture. The small size of fields and multiple ownerships do not favour profitable business either (Municipality of Philippi 2011).

Livestock is the second source of income in the area, which actually possesses 25% of the livestock of the entire prefecture. It consists mainly of sheep and goats, hens, pigs and cattle. Their main products include meat, milk and eggs (Municipality of Philippi 2011). There are also 40 manufacturing units in operation. Their business focuses on dairy products, carpentry, marble, linen and clothing. Finally, the visitor services sector is currently underdeveloped: two small hotels and an organised camping site operate in the area with a capacity of 287 guests altogether (Municipality of Philippi 2011). Overall the

area is regarded as agricultural with the exception of the seat of the former municipality, Krenides, which is a semi-urban town (Hellenic Statistical Authority 2011a).

Philippi is also known for the Philippi Festival of ancient drama that has been taking place at the ancient theatre since 1957 (plate 6). It is thus the second oldest such festival in Greece, initiated only two yeas after the official opening of the Festival of Epidavros. Its impact in northern Greece, especially during the early years, has been immense. The idea of founding the National Theatre of Northern Greece, the second biggest national theatre in the country, was formed at the Philippi Festival in the late 1950s. Seminal figures of international theatre have directed and performed in Philippi; these have included Loukas Karantinos, Dimitris Rontiris, Karolos Koun, Melina Merkouri, Minos Volanakis and Anna Synodinou. The contribution of the Philippi Festival towards the reinstitution of the ancient monument in contemporary social life, the public education of a cross-generational audience and the formation of a special local identity has been immense and undeniable (Mamali 2007).

The area is also known for its medicinal mud baths, a resource with great development potential. The properties of the mud in the area have been known since at least the end of the nineteenth century. In 1996 the Central Health Council declared the mud and the water to be medicinal. The Municipal Enterprise of the Mudbaths employs 14 members of staff and apart from the mud bath treatment, accommodation and treatment products are also available for sale on site. Currently approximately 7,000 bathers visit Krenides every summer (Municipality of Philippi 2011).

The municipality supports the EEC of Philippi (see 2.2.5). Its operation aims at educating primary and secondary school teachers and students on natural,

cultural and any other environmental issues and through them, at informing and raising awareness among the general public in the area. The educational programmes *With Pheidias the Snake at the Ancient Forum* and *Ecological SMSs from the Ancient Forum* were situated at the Roman Forum of Philippi (Environmental Education Centre of Philippi 2010).

The Municipality of Philippi and local cultural associations founded the Hellenic Rock Art Centre (HERAC) in 2003. HERAC is a legal entity under private law, non-governmental and not-for-profit. Its mission is the documentation, presentation, promotion, protection and popularisation of rock art in the area, in the country and also internationally. HERAC is a party member of the International Federation of Rock Art Organisations (IFRAO), the Comité International de l' Art Rupestre (CAR-ICOMOS) and a member of the European Forum of Heritage Associations. Since its foundation the Centre has organised an international conference and two international exhibitions in relation to rock art, through international collaboration and under the auspices of UNESCO. It has also run summer schools with the participation of foreign universities (Representative of HERAC, pers. comm.). These events prompted the former municipality to claim the foundation of the EEC in Philippi and to promote the nomination of the archaeological site of Philippi for World Heritage status (Representative of the local administration, pers. comm.). Since 2006, HERAC has been in an administrative limbo as negotiations among its founding bodies regarding the composition of its management board are still on going.

The Diocese of Philippi, Neapolis and Thasos is another important agent in the area. The Diocese maintains an important place in the history of the Christian church because the church of Philippi is believed to be the first Christian church Saint Paul founded in Europe. Furthermore the Saint is believed to have

maintained excellent relations with the Philippians during his lifetime, as is described in his Epistle to them. Finally the church of Philippi has contributed to the Christian hagiology with the canonisation of the first woman in Europe believed to have been baptised Christian, Lydia from Philippi. To maintain the Christian tradition alive, the Diocese founded the Baptistry of Saint Lydia (1974) and the Centre for Studies on Saint Paul (2008) (plate 7) at the riverbank of Zygaktes, where he is believed to have baptised Lydia. An open-air baptistry was also constructed there, where tens of adults are baptised every year. Every year on the evening of 29 June a festive evening service, a vigil, takes place at the ruins of Basilica B on the archaeological site in commemoration of Saint Paul's imprisonment during his first stay in Philippi. The relationship with Christianity further contributes to the popularity of Philippi. The Diocese holds a prominent position in the religious tourism network 'In the footsteps of Saint Paul'. The monument at the spot where Saint Paul is believed to have landed in Neapolis, today's Kavala, marks the starting point of a route throughout the Greek mainland, the first stop of which is Philippi.

4.1.2 History and Archaeology

Philippi was originally founded in 359 BC by Thasian colonists in the middle of a wetland, close to their own port-colony of Neapolis (modern Kavala), for the advantageous exploitation of the rich gold deposits of Mount Paggeon (Hammond and Griffith 1979: 187, 235). The marshes and the gold deposits have determined the city's history and development ever since. In 356 BC, the city appealed to Philip II, King of Macedon and father of Alexander the Great, for protection against imminent Thracian attacks. Philip eventually re-founded the city; the first one in the Greek world to be given his name (*idem*: 246-7, 249, 360, 558, 659-60).

Of the few facts known about this period of the city's life one is the dramatic change of its natural environment; Philip initiated drainage and reclamation works to turn the marshy forest in fertile agricultural land. He also increased the output of the gold mines of Mount Paggeon and amassed capital wealth to strengthen even more the position of the Kingdom against its enemies (Hammond 1972: 149, 659-60, 662).

Later, when the Romans conquered Macedonia, the neighbouring city of Amphipolis took the lead. The political future of the Roman Empire was determined in the battle of Philippi in 42 BC, where the Republicans Brutus and Cassius confronted Mark Anthony and Octavian. After the dominance of the latter, the *Antoni Iussu Colonia Victrix Philippensium* was established. Octavian, after his victory in Action (30 BC), installed more colonists and established the *Colonia Augusta Iulia Philippensis.* The colony included many rural settlements. However research has not yet determined its geographical extent, its political status and the status of its settlements and their inhabitants (Papazoglou 1988: 407-13).

In the later imperial period Philippi remained one of the most important cities of Macedonia, belonging to the province of *Macedonia Prima.* In the first century AD Saint Paul paid two visits to Philippi (Gounaris and Gounari 2004: 17-8). Philippi did not suffer much from Goths' attacks. After the severe destruction caused by the Avars under the reign of Herakleios, life almost disappeared in the city (*c.* AD 606/607). Until the fourteenth century a small settlement continued to live on its ruins (Papazoglou 1988: 413).

After the fourteenth century the city was abandoned. Evliyia Celembi, an Ottoman traveller of the seventeenth century, described the site as a small fortress, round and low, built with white marble and surrounded by a big

village of 70-80 houses, also built with white marble and with schist slab roofs. Around the area he reported thousands of sarcophagi and other antiquities (Celembi 1991 (1928): 70). Paul Lucas, a French merchant, traveller and antiquary to Louis XIV, referred to the site as consisting of a big number of buildings half-built and among them obvious beautiful temples entirely built with white marble and superb palaces, the ruins of which still give a good impression of ancient architecture and many more monuments worthy of the magnificence of the monarchs who reigned there (Heuzey and Daumet 1876: 9).

The archaeological site includes monuments that represent different periods of the ancient city's life. The city walls are dated back to the Hellenistic period along with the acropolis and the theatre (plate 8). The Forum, dated to the first and second centuries AD, consists of a square surrounded by the tribunal for public speeches, honorary monuments, a monumental fountain, a temple possibly to honour the Emperor and Rome, a public library, shops, the *Tabularium*, the *Curia* and a Roman Basilica, probably the court house (plate 9, Gounaris and Gounari 2004: 21-30, 47-50).

Four Basilicas have been excavated in Philippi so far; Basilica A on the foothill of the acropolis (*c.* AD 500), Basilica B south of the Roman Forum (middle of the sixth century AD, plate 11), Basilica C situated west of Basilica A (first quarter of sixth century AD) and the extra-mural Basilica, in the centre of Krenides (beginning of fourth century AD, plate 12, Gounaris and Gounari 2004: 39-44, 51-6, 89-91, 101-4). The Octagon Temple complex (*c.* AD 400, plate 10) on the eastern side of the Forum occupies the site of an older temple of the fourth century AD. The remains so far called 'Bishop's Residence' are now believed to belong to a hostel. Public baths are situated north of the Octagon Temple complex (*c.* 30 BC, Gounaris and Gounari 2004: 66-88). The current condition of the archaeological remains is relatively good. The standing walls of Basilicas A

and B contribute to their extremely high visibility. Parts of the site have undergone extensive conservation while others have been left untouched.

However, the archaeological site of the ancient city of Philippi is not the only cultural resource of the area. The prehistoric site of Dikili Tash (sixth to second millennium BC), one of the biggest prehistoric tells in the Balkans, lies east of Krenides. So far research has revealed the relationship of chronological periods between eastern Macedonia and the Aegean and the organisation, function, and use of materials of the Neolithic residential strata. The investigation of the site is ongoing and is of huge importance for the understanding of the Neolithic in Macedonia and by extension in the Balkans and its relations to the rest of the Aegean (France Diplomatie 2011).

The field where the battle of Philippi took place (42 BC) extends to the south and southwest of the ancient city. Two tells mark it on the landscape of the plain. Photogrammetry surveys were conducted in the plain of Philippi to complete and update the cartographic archive of the area and to identify traces of events or constructions mentioned in historical sources but not identified outside the city walls. These surveys identified a construction at the top of the northern tell, ramparts interpreted as the defensive works of the Republicans and more traces of the *via Egnatia (*Kaimares *et al.* 2002).

Ancient mines in the area east of Philippi and northeast of the ancient port of Neapolis (current Kavala) have been recently identified as the ones Herodotus and Thucydides mentioned as *Skapte Yli*. The evidence found in an area of approximately 100 sq km demonstrate the quantities that must have been mined by Philip in order to circulate the *philippeion*, a currency of extremely high consistency in gold, and fund his planned expedition to the East. They are dated mainly to the Classical period. Closer to the site of the ancient city of

Philippi and of the same date are nine mines in the areas *Aghia Helene* and *Phalakros Lophos*. The length of their corridors reaches 350 m and they include mining spaces of up to 60x30 m. They consist of two and sometimes three levels of exploitation, an earlier one, possibly prehistoric, and a Roman one (Vavelides 2007).

Rock art has been discovered in several locations around the area and on the slopes of Mount Paggeon. The highest concentration so far recorded is that of seven rock art panels at the foothills of Lekani (plate 13), about 2 km east of the town of Krenides. Their documentation is an ongoing project for several researchers and the HERAC (see above 4.1.1). These panels depict human and animal figures and the distinctive figure of the 'horseman'. The hypothesis that the rock art panels of Philippi constitute an open-air sanctuary of the Thracian tribe of Hedons (*c.* 1100 BC) has been proposed and awaits confirmation by the results of further research (Dimitriadis *et al.* 2007). These rock art panels are also the centrepieces of a plan for an ecomuseum in the area (Dimitriadis 2009).

4.1.3 History of Archaeology

Napoleon III assigned the first formal archaeological expedition to Leon Heuzey, renowned archaeologist and former member of the French School in Athens in 1861-62. Napoleon was known for his interest in Roman battlefields in the eastern provinces of the Roman Empire (Heuzey and Daumet 1876: Avant-propos). The area was then still part of the Ottoman Empire.

After the unification of this region with the Greek state (1912) and before the Second World War, the French School in Athens took up the excavation and publication of the Roman Forum, Basilicas A and B, a Roman villa and of sanctuaries carved on the rocks of the acropolis by Ch. Avezou, Ch. Picard, P.

Collart and P. Lemerle (Collart 1937; Lemerle 1946). The Archaeological Service was conducting rescue excavations at the same time (Gounaris and Gounari 2004: 10, 18).

After the war, Stylianos Pelekanides undertook the excavation of the extra-mural Basilica, revealed during rescue excavation, thanks to grants by the Archaeological Society in Athens (Pelekanides 1955). At the same time Dimitrios Lazarides was also excavating in the area on behalf of the Archaeological Service. After Pelekanides was appointed to a professorship in the Aristotle University of Thessaloniki he went on to excavate the Octagon complex (1958-1978).

The Department of Archaeology of the Aristotle University of Thessaloniki has been excavating again since 1988 quarters of the early Christian city (Gounaris 2006, for further bibliography). The French School and the Archaeological Society in Athens continue to research the Neolithic settlement of Dikili Tash. The Swiss School of Archaeology has been working on the publication of the inscriptions of Philippi. Restoration and anastylosis of the ancient theatre are ongoing. The Archaeological Service is mainly kept occupied with rescue excavations within the modern community of Krenides.

Another element in the history of archaeology in the area is the archaeological museum of Philippi (plate 14). It was founded in 1961 and it was initially planned to store the finds of the excavations and host the archaeologists who were working on site. Later, exhibitions on the Roman and Early Christian antiquities were developed (university archaeologist, pers. comm.). The museum closed in the end of the 1990s for renovation and reopened in 2010.

The 18th EPCA and the 12th EBA are responsible for half of the archaeological site of Philippi each. Their territories are fenced and entrance to the area of the EBA is through the area of the EPCA. Philippi is one of the very few organised archaeological sites open to visitors in the Prefecture of Kavala and the most profitable one. Others, such as part of the ancient city of Thasos and the quarries of Alyki in Thasos, do not bring revenue because entrance to them is free. Revenue from the archaeological site of Philippi was at its lowest in 2004 and culminated in 2007 with an average during these four years of €92,425 (figure 2, Hellenic Statistical Authority 2011b).

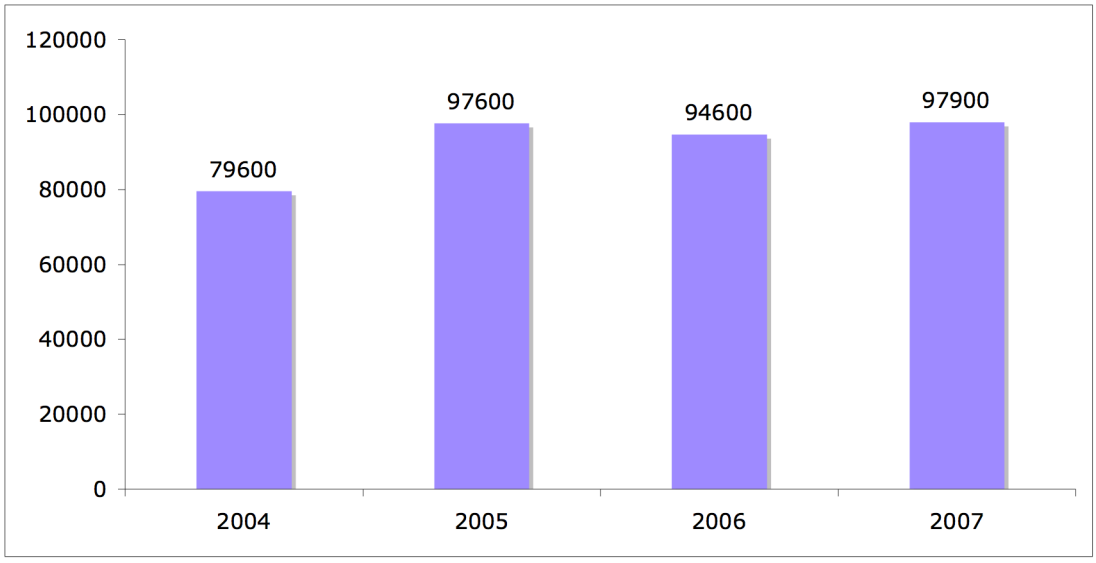

Figure 2 Archaeological site of Philippi annual revenue from 2004 to 2007 in euros (Hellenic Statistical Authority 2011b)

Philippi is the third most popular archaeological site in Macedonia, after the Royal Tombs of Vergina and Dion, and the 30th most popular in the whole of Greece. Visitor numbers available for the period from 1992 to 2008 (figure 3, table 1) demonstrate that visitors were close to twenty thousands in the early nineties (21,387 in 1992). By the middle of the decade they rose up by 30% (30,435 in 1994) and dropped again by 19% (24,683 in 1995). By the end of the decade, the site saw another acute fall down to 66% of its last peak (31,700 in 1997 to 10,900 in 2000). Visitor numbers have been rising constantly since then

with the exception of 2003 (again fall by 17% from previous year) and 2006 (fall by 1%). In 2001, visitor numbers rose as sharply as they had fallen the years before that (30,038, by 64%). Since then there is a steady rise of 10-22% every year (Hellenic Statistical Authority 2011b).

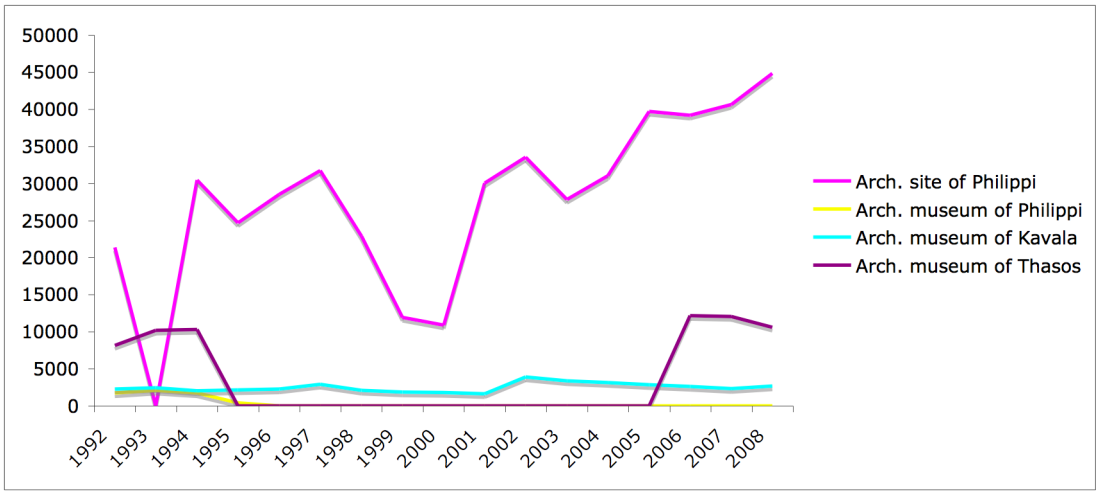

Figure 3 Visitor numbers to the arch. sites and museums of the Ministry of Culture and Tourism in the Prefecture of Kavala (Hellenic Statistical Authority 2011b)

Out of the archaeological attractions that the Ministry of Culture and Tourism monitors in the Prefecture (i.e. the archaeological site and museum in Philippi, the archaeological museum in Kavala and the one in Thasos), the archaeological site of Philippi is by far the most popular one (figure 3, table 1). Since 2006, when the second most popular attraction in the area, the archaeological museum of Thasos, reopened, the archaeological site of Philippi had four times as many visitors as the museum in Thasos. Visiting patterns throughout the year seem to be the same from 2004 to 2007 (figure 4). There is a steady rise of visits from March onwards that climaxes in May and September. From October on there is a steady fall that reaches its lowest point in February (Hellenic Statistical Authority 2011b).

Table 1 Visitor numbers to the arch. sites and museums of the Ministry of Culture and Tourism in Kavala (Hel. Stat. Auth. 2011b)

SITE/ MUSEUM	1992	1993	1994	1995	1996	1997	1998	1999	2000	2001	2002	2003	2004	2005	2006	2007	2008
Site of Philippi	21387	.	30435	24683	28500	31700	22900	11950	10900	30038	33500	27800	31000	39700	39200	40600	44800
Museum of Philippi	1759	2090	1768	414	0	11	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Museum of Kavala	2259	2423	2028	2176	2258	2919	2112	1841	1788	1652	3875	3365	3129	2857	2643	2325	2700
Museum of Thasos	8156	10210	10301	7	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	12172	12021	10600

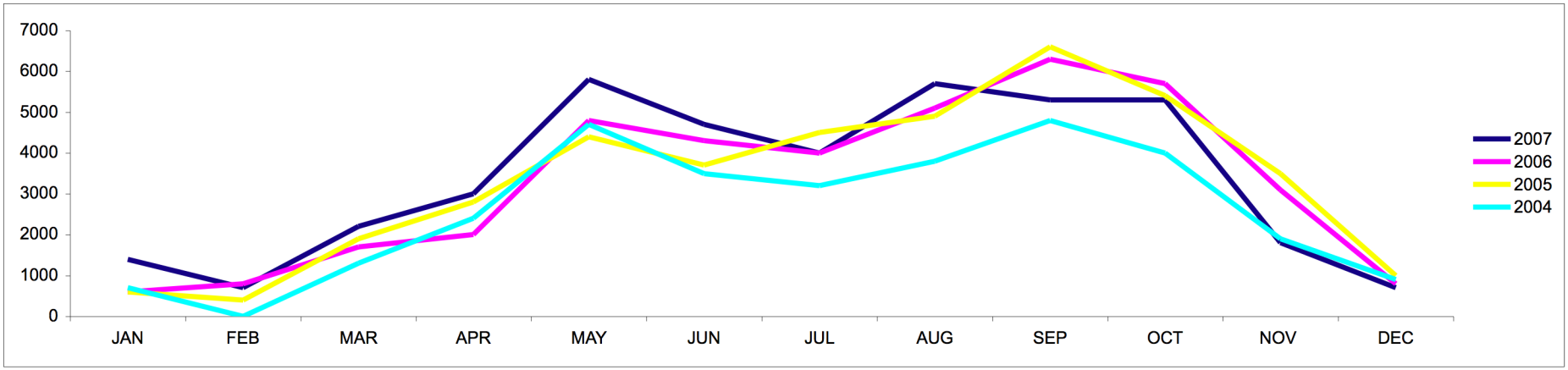

Figure 4 Visitor numbers to the arch. site of Philippi by month from 2004 to 2007 (Hellenic Statistical Authority 2011b)

4.2 Case Study 2: The Archaeological Site of Dispilio and the local community of Dispilio, Kastoria in north-western Greece

4.2.1 Introduction

The archaeological site of Dispilio and its adjacent local community are located in north-western Greece, in the western part of Macedonia, 7 km to the southeast of the city of Kastoria, on the south coast of lake Orestiada and across Mount Vitsi (plate 3). Until 31 December 2010 Dispilio was the historical seat[9] of the Municipality of Makednon.[10]

> The Municipality of Makednon because the 7,500 years old and more Neolithic lake settlement lies in the municipal department of Dispilio, unique in its kind in South-Eastern Europe, which constitutes a particular pole of prehistoric interest for the scientific community and a special pole of development for the Municipality of Makednon, because it believes that the Neolithic lake settlement of Dispilio must constitute a special reference point for our Municipality, defines Dispilio as historical seat of the Municipality of Makednon. The definition of Dispilio as historical seat honours especially all of the residents of the Municipality of Makednon and constitutes an ethical acknowledgement for the residents of the municipal department of Dispilio, who are anthropogeographically the direct inheritors of the Neolithic lake settlement of the same name (Municipality of Makednon 2003).

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[9] This is an honorary title attributed by Municipal Decision. According to the Municipal Decision, in practical terms it means that in all official documentation and wherever mention is made to the Municipality both the administrative (Mavrovo) and the historical seat has to be mentioned.

[10] Since 1 January 2011 the Municipality of Makednon is part of the Municipality of Kastoria.

Dispilio has 1.110 residents (Hellenic Statistical Authority 2011a) (plates 15-8). It is a rather new settlement and there is no documented evidence of its existence before the twentieth century. Locals attribute its foundation in the late Ottoman period, considering that in 1913 it had 252 residents (Cultural Association 1994: 17, 27). However a more recent wave of newcomers, mainly people who work in Kastoria but prefer the lower property prices and airy surroundings of Dispilio to the densely built city, has infiltrated the social web of older inhabitants (Hourmouziadi 2008: 122).

The economy of the local community of Dispilio, like the greater part of Kastoria, has depended for many years on the manufacture and processing of fur (for a discussion of the local economy see 5.1.4). For the last 20 years though, ecological concerns and cheaper labour in other countries have inevitably and continuously diminished this industry. As a result, unemployment has risen while agriculture cannot sustain the local population. As in so many other places, the interest of the locals and the local administration in alternative income resources, such as tourism, has risen (Hourmouziadi 2008: 122). Indeed, several small hotels have opened to take advantage of the need for accommodation of the archaeological team in the summer and winter tourism in Kastoria. Kastoria itself has developed into a popular tourist destination taking advantage of its unique Byzantine heritage, the setting of the lake, traditional architecture of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, the local carnival festivities (*Ragoutsaria*, 6th-8th January) and the proximity to the lake complex of Prespes in neighbouring Florina. Also, the skiing resort of Mount Vitsi is 22 km away.

The lake Orestiada itself and its surrounding area is a protected area under the 1992 Habitats Directive of the EU, commonly known as 'Natura 2000'. The

protected area covers a surface of 4,732 ha. The environment of the lake is described as:

> …a freshwater lake surrounded by partly forested mountains with the town of Kastoria built on its shore. Rooted aquatic plants, submerged or with floating leaves (*Potamogeton spp., Vallisneria spiralis, Najas marina, Myriophyllum spicatum, Trapa natans, Polygonum amphibium* etc.) form important habitats. Moreover, reed beds dominated by *Phragmites australis* fringe the lake (Natura in Greece 2011).

Its significance is summarised as 'a wetland of great importance for birds as a breeding, feeding and wintering place. It supports a diverse avifauna including rare and threatened species. It is also important for birds of prey' (Natura in Greece 2011).

The church of the Ascension stands a few metres away from the actual trenches of the excavation. Built on the ruins of the gate of an ancient enclosure, an inscription refers to its foundation in 1857 (Moutsopoulos 1997-8: 21). The actual excavation is taking place on the site that the local community used to use for a variety of purposes (plate 18), from a football field, to gymnastic shows of the local schools and the Fair organised for the celebration of the feast of the Ascension every year (plates 26-7, Cultural Association 1994: 33-9; Touloumis 2008: 38-39).

The Prefecture of Kastoria hosts its own EEC. Although the EEC is based in the city of Kastoria, the history and archaeology of the lake settlement in Dispilio occupies a significant place in its programmes. The programme *The Routes of Water - The Lake of Kastoria* starts from the period of the Neolithic, since when

cultures have been developed at the edge of the lake, and elaborates from then on how the lake has played a determinant biological, economic, social and cultural role for the area. The *Workshop of Life - Biodiversity* devotes a section of field exercises to Biodiversity and Culture at the Dispilio lake settlement. In January 2010, the EEC hosted an educational thematic seminar-workshop for primary and secondary school educators on *An Excursion to the Neolithic. Is Sustainable Management an old Practice?* in collaboration with the archaeological team of Dispilio (Environmental Education Centre of Kastoria 2011).

An Association of the Friends of the Lake Settlement in Dispilio was founded in 2004 as a result of the initiative of an associate of the university excavation team. Its aim is to bridge the gap between the local community and the excavation team and create a forum where the two communities can meet. The Association has so far organised public lectures regarding the excavation and Neolithic culture, an ancient musical instrument found in Dion in northern Greece called *hydraulis*, two theatrical performances, and a series of movie screenings (Representative of the Association, pers. comm.). More recently, the Association collaborated with the 29th EPCA and other local organisations for the celebration of the European Days of Cultural Heritage in Dispilio with the organisation of thematic tours on *The Residence in the Lake Settlement of Dispilio* (26-28 September 2008). Finally, the Association organised an event to honour Professor Antonios Keramopoullos and celebrate 70 years from the discovery of Dispilio and 17 years of the university excavation (Sophronidou 2009: 46, n. 3). The Association's efforts to reinforce the relationship with the local community have been deemed unsuccessful (Hourmouziadi 2008: 126-7).

4.2.2 History and Archaeology

The archaeological site in Dispilio occupies an area of approximately 17,000 sq m out of which 5,250 sq m have been excavated and 1,950 sq m relate to the Neolithic period (Sophronidou 2008: 15-6). The site is located in the area of Dispilio called 'Island'; this constitutes a hump that used to be surrounded by the waters of the lake especially in wintertime and thus got this name. In more recent years the level of the lake dropped and the area was again naturally connected with the rest of the mainland.

The site constitutes a lake settlement, so far the only one excavated in Greece. The earliest strata excavated date to the end of the Middle Neolithic and the Later Neolithic (*c.* 5500 BC). However artefacts dated to the end of Early or beginning of Middle Neolithic have been found in places when the level of the lake dropped. Three phases have been distinctive in the life of the settlement: the oldest one has been called 'of the lake', the middle one 'amphibious', and the latest one 'continental' in reference to the changes in the relationship between the lake and the settlement throughout time. Dispilio constitutes a typical lake settlement on wooden pillars with particularly dense building during its early phases. Among its rich findings are architectural elements made of wood or clay, pottery of all qualities and kinds, stone tools, anthropomorphic, zoomorphic and object-like figurines, two bone carved flutes, a few burials, exchange goods (e.g. obsidian), a wooden tablet with linear incisions of a primeval form of written communication dated to 5,260 BC. The most recent strata have been dated to the Chalcolithic. The site was never really abandoned (Sophronidou 2008: 16-23; Dispilio Excavations 2011).

A stone enclosure has been found to surround the settlement. In later times a wall reinforced it. This architectural element first attracted the attention of archaeologists to Dispilio. This was dated either to the reign of the Macedonian

King Archelaos (412-399 BC) (Keramopoullos 1932: 106-12) or more generally to the beginning of the fourth century BC (Moutsopoulos 1997-8: 21-9). The condition of this wall, documented since the beginning of the twentieth century, has rapidly deteriorated as its material has been taken away for re-use in a series of public and private works. The last blow came when the embellishment of the church of the Ascension was decided with the formulation of a front garden that has covered, if not destroyed the ruins of the southern part of the wall and the south-western pillar of the gate of the enclosure (Moutsopoulos 1997-8: 21-2).

In the more recent years, Dispilio lived a quiet life as a place through which anyone who approached the city of Kastoria from the south passed. A statue at one end of its main street represents the Archbishop of Kastoria Nicephoros Papasideris (1936-58) whose father came from Dispilio (plate 19, Diocese of Kastoria 2011), and at the other end is one of the army officer Ioannis Paparrodos, the protagonist of the battle of Dispilio (15/4/1941). These two statues in a sense define largely the most recent history of the place. Narrations about this battle are dressed with the memory of a miraculous rescue of the residents of Dispilio who found shelter in the cave next to the church of Saint Nicholas, one of the two caves that Dispilio has been named after (plate 20, see also Cultural Association 2004: 21-6).

4.2.3 History of Archaeology

Systematic archaeological research in north-western Greece, specifically in western Macedonia, was relatively late. Before the inclusion of the area into the Greek state, the Russian Archaeological Institute of Istanbul conducted excavation at the prehistoric settlement of Saint Panteleimon in 1898-9 (Sophronidou 2008: 11) but until about ten years ago ancient western

Macedonia was regarded as culturally undeveloped (Hourmouziadi 2008: 122). Interest in the past of the area was first expressed during the Balkan wars (also see Vokotopoulou 1986). According to records of the local community's communication with the Archaeological Service, initially the 14th EPCA in Veroia (150 km away) was responsible for the antiquities of the area. In 1973 the 17th EPCA in Edessa (132 km away) and the EBA of Thessaloniki (226 km away) took over responsibility the former of prehistoric and Classical antiquities and the latter of Byzantine antiquities in the area. In 1989 the 16th EBA was founded in Kastoria and took responsibility over Byzantine antiquities in the Prefectures of Kastoria and Florina and in 2006 the 29th EPCA was founded in Florina (94 km away) and took responsibility over prehistoric and Classical antiquities of the Prefectures of Florina and Kastoria.

The first mention of Dispilio regarding its antiquities was made soon after the area's inclusion to the Greek state, in 1913 by an archaeologist enlisted in the Greek army, N.G. Pappadakis. He referred to a polygonal wall in the area of Dispilio called 'Island', made of big, carved stones, preserved in places up to 2 m high, with traces of a gate and two towers, 'certainly ancient Greek' (Moutsopoulos 1997-8: 9; Pappadakis 1913: 440-1).

In 1930, Professor Keramopoullos surveyed extensively western Macedonia in order to identify proof of the expansion of the Greek art and culture in the north. He noted again the presence of the wall and dated it to the years of the Macedonian King Archelaos (412-399 BC) (Hourmouziadis 2002: 11-4; Keramopoullos 1932: 48, 93-4, 106-12). In 1938, he returned and identified the remains of almost five hundred wood-pillars near Dispilio. He dated the settlement to the Neolithic (Keramopoullos 1938: 58-61).

Keramopoullos returned to Dispilio one more time in 1940 in order to excavate further. He was able to show that stone tools were manufactured *in situ* and recovered many more findings. He finally offered the hypothesis that if the lake settlement dated before the coming of the Indo-Europeans, then the 'Island' and the wall were the works of the Macedonian King Archelaos (412-399 BC), whom he compared to the Egyptian Pharaohs for his imposing works. He concluded that this was probably the ancient location of Argos Orestikon (Keramopoullos 1940: 22-3).

Professor Moutsopoulos was the first to record the position of some of the pillars in 1966 as a result of the extremely dry conditions that year. He sent a report and his plans to the Archaeological Service that was published by its Director, S. Marinatos. He had recorded the position of several wood-pillars. He also suggested that hundreds of thousands were still preserved in the lake and numbers might reach one million. He also referred to a collection of artefacts kept at the school of the village (Marinatos 1968: 164). In 1971, the site was listed as an archaeological site by ministerial decision (M.D. no. 15947/9.10.1971, *Government Gazette* 248 B/25.10.1971).

Moutsopoulos returned to the site many years later to conduct excavation research in the area of the wall enclosure. He traced the conservation history of the wall based on locals' accounts on the material's second use and up to the most recent destruction for the embellishment of the church of the Ascension. He determined the width, construction and the general plan of the wall and he dated it with reservation to the beginning of the fourth century BC (Moutsopoulos 1997-8: 21-9). He also continued Keramopoullos' work on historical sources and ethnographic evidence regarding lake settlements (Keramopoullos 1938: 60-1), attributed the lake settlement to the tribe of

Paionians and identified the settlement with the ancient city of Keletron (Moutsopoulos 1997-8: 1-20).

The Department of Archaeology of the Aristotle University of Thessaloniki started a systematic research excavation in 1992, which has been ongoing. Early communication of archaeological research both to the specialised and the general public has been a major concern of the excavation team in Dispilio. Initial conclusions from the excavations and the study of the material was published in a dedicated volume (Hourmouziadis 2002b) as well as in the series *'Anaskamma'* in which all the members of the excavation team as well as individual researchers who have studied material from Dispilio publish their most recent results.

Since the beginning of the project the excavation team hosted an open event at the end of the field season to present and discuss the project's findings and plans for the future. The event took place a couple of times but because of fading interest on the part of the local community it was soon stopped (Hourmouziadi 2009: 209). In 1995 the Agricultural Association of Dispilio ceded to the university excavation team a warehouse located a few hundred metres from the archaeological site to base its activity. The smaller of the two spaces was very soon turned into an exhibition space for the presentation to the public of the history of research of lake settlements in central Europe, and the history of the excavation in Dispilio and its findings (plates 21-2, Hourmouziadi 2009: 210; Sophronidou 2009: 45-6). This exhibition is now under the auspices of the Ministry of Culture and Tourism and operates with a permanent guard who also acts as an informal tour guide (Hourmouziadi 2008: 129).

In 1999 the Dispilio Ecomuseum opened as the first Greek ecomuseum (plates 23-5, Hourmouziadi 2002: 333). It consists of the reconstruction of eight wood

and mud-plastered huts containing copies of relevant household materials and artefacts that had been identified from the excavations (*idem*). The Municipality and more specifically, the Municipal Enterprise of Inert Matters, also responsible for the local quarry, manages the Ecomuseum (*idem*: 347). A formal proposition for a museum, information and documentation centre was submitted in 2002 but has not been put in action yet (Hourmouziadi 2009: 210).

An excavation park is planned to operate at the archaeological site in the coming years. According to the plan, the university excavation will then be formally open to visitors. The aim of this endeavour is to bring the visitor into contact with the archaeological data where they are uncovered and thus bring them into contact with the process of discovery from the first moment of the creation of the archaeological information. This new project is another way for the university excavation team to try to turn the visitor from a passive receiver to an actively engaged participant. The ultimate aim is to encourage the development of elaboration of the data by each visitor. This will motivate the visitor to claim his/her social rights over the common past and feed the scientific community with evidence, thoughts and arguments (Dasakli 2009; Dispilio Excavations 2011).

In 2004 a website dedicated to the Dispilio excavations was launched. As well as the standard history of the excavation, one can find the 'Diary of the Excavation', a multi-vocal contribution to the presentation of the day-to-day, theoretical and practical issues that an archaeologist has to face at work (Dispilio Excavations 2011).

Dispilio and its Ecomuseum constitute a new development in terms of visitor attractions in the area. In general, visitor numbers seem to be rising. According to research based on the records of the Municipality, the majority of

independent visitors are domestic visitors and most of them come from Macedonia and the city of Athens (figure 5; Diamanti and Georgopoulou 2008).

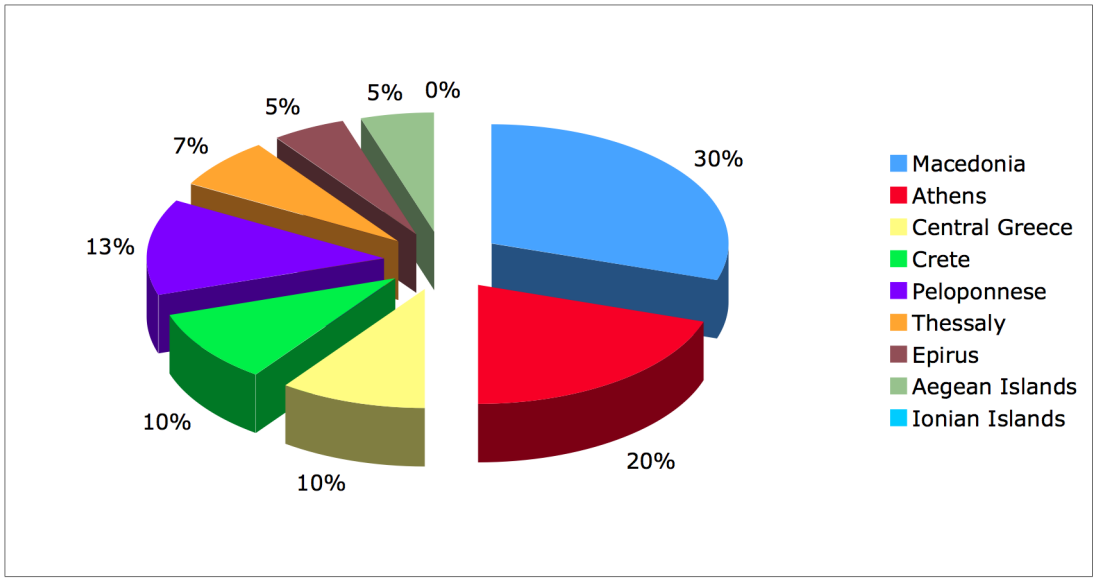

Figure 5 Provenance of Greek visitors to Dispilio in 2007 (Diamanti and Georgopoulou 2008)

Overall, at least half of the visits are school group visits from Macedonia and the city of Athens (figure 6; *idem*). Visitor numbers are expected to increase further after road connection with central and southern Greece is improved, the Ecomuseum is expanded and the museum proposed is constructed (see above).

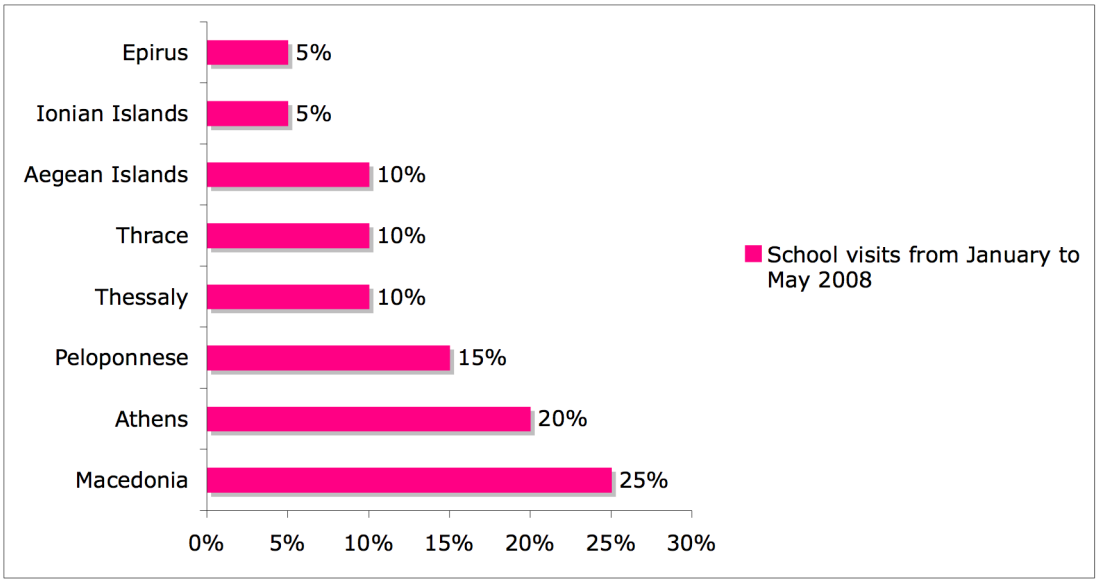

Figure 6 Provenance of school visits to Dispilio from January to May 2008 (Diamanti and Georgopoulou 2008)

4.3 Case Study 3: The Archaeological Site of Delphi and the local community of Delphi, Phokida in Central Greece

4.3.1 Introduction

The archaeological site and the modern settlement of Delphi are located in central Greece, in the prefecture of Phocida, on the south slopes of mount Parnassus overlooking the Corinthian gulf and the town of Itea (plate 4). The modern settlement itself was originally built directly on the ruins of the two sanctuaries (Apollo's and Athenas', for a description of the site see below) and was called Kastri, a reference to the existence of the ancient ruins. It was later moved away so that archaeological research was made possible. Until 31 December 2010 Delphi was the seat of the Municipality of Delphi. Since 1 January 2011 the seat of the Municipality has moved to Amphissa and Delphi has remained its historical seat (for an explanation of historical seats, see 4.2.1). The local community consists of 1,474 residents. The local economy is based on the tourist services, such as accommodation, restaurants, tavernas and gift shops (plate 28-31; for a further discussion of the local economy see 5.1.4). The skiing resort of Mount Parnassus is approximately 34 km away and the winter resort of Arahova 10.5 km away.

The Delphic Festival, which is considered to be the predecessor of revivals of ancient Greek drama festivals, was organised for the first time in 1927 by the poet and 1949 Nobel Prize laureate Aggelos Sikelianos and his wife Eva Palmer. The Festival constituted only an aspect of Sikelianos' 'Delphic Idea', that was the formation of a universal, intellectual core of individuals able to bridge the differences among peoples. To develop this vision, a universal union for the reconciliation of people had to be established and a Delphic University, for the composition of a united myth based on the traditions of all people. Out of all these concepts, only the Delphic Festival materialised in the end. It was

repeated in 1930. Subsequently a financial collapse of Eva Palmer's wealth and the dissolution of her marriage with Sikelianos put an end to the Festival that was soon to be re-incarnated in the many ancient Greek drama festivals initiated anywhere an ancient theatre had been preserved (Mauroleon 2007: 64-5).

After the climate of disappointment that the world wars generated and after the failure of the Delphic Idea, the concept of an international cultural centre was discussed within art and letters circles. In 1957, Greece submitted a formal plan to the Council of Europe for the foundation of the Delphic Centre. In 1962, the Centre was taken under the auspices of the Council of Europe and the area where it would be built was offered by the Greek state. In 1977, the European Cultural Centre of Delphi was founded under the auspices of the Council of Europe and the Greek Ministry of Culture (plate 32, European Cultural Centre of Delphi 2011).

Among the Centre's stated aims was to develop common cultural features that unite people of Europe. To achieve this, the Centre maintains premises west of the modern settlement of Delphi that include an open-air theatre, an indoor amphitheatre, conference and meeting rooms and accommodation and food catering areas. The Centre organises and hosts a great variety of events of international effect, such as a world-renowned series of international meeting on ancient Greek drama, annual meetings of young artists, fine arts exhibitions, educational programmes, and various conferences, symposia and seminars. The Centre also funds a series of publications, relevant to its activities and maintains the Museum of Delphic Festivals at the former house of Aggelos Sikelianos and Eva Palmer in the modern settlement of Delphi. It also maintains a very important collection of contemporary Greek sculpture (European Cultural Centre of Delphi 2011).

The Prefecture of Phocida hosts its own EEC in Amphissa. In two of the educational programmes the EEC is currently organising, the cultural heritage of the area's past plays a significant role: *The Olive. A Gift of the Gods to the Phocian Land* and *Geo-Environmental - Geo-Mythological Footpaths in Phocida*. Within both of these programmes students come into extensive contact with the historic olive grove of Amphissa, part of the Delphic Landscape and basic feature of the World Heritage Site, and the sites of Delphi, the Corycian Cave and the ancient port of Kirra (Environmental Education Centre of Amphissa 2011).

The modern settlement of Delphi honours in many more ways the past of the region and tries to help visitors from all over the world to enjoy it. It hosts the end of a long-distance run from Plataies to Delphi and back to Plataies, called *Euchideios'* Deed, after the runner who brought sanctified flame from the sanctuary of Delphi after the Greeks beat the Persians in the battle of Plataies. One of the main vertical roads in Delphi is called after Pierre Amandry, one of the French archaeologists who devoted most of his research in Delphi. Finally, the Municipality is trying to bring tourists into the modern settlement and prolong their stay in Delphi by creating more sites of interest, such as the Museum of Delphic Festivals and the European Cultural Centre and unifying them with the archaeological site through the constant operation of a wagonette that offers free transportation around the area to facilitate visitor circulation among the sites (plate 33).

4.3.2 History and Archaeology

The archaeological site of Delphi expands on the steep southern slope of Mount Parnassus overlooking the Plain of Krisa, the most fertile area in the region. According to the Homeric Hymn to Apollo, a Boeotian nymph, Telphousa,

advised the young god who came from the island of Delos to found his temple on the slopes of Mount Parnassus. When Apollo got to the site he found that it was already occupied and had to fight with Python, a dragon-shaped snake to conquer it. The area has been occupied since the Neolithic, as finds at the Corycian Cave, at the proximity of the sanctuary, show. The earliest remains from the site of the sanctuary are dated to the fifteenth century BC. The introduction of Apollo's worship in Delphi can be dated in the eighth century BC. The first architectural monuments that are safely attributable to the worship of Apollo are dated to the seventh century BC while in the sixth century there was already an altar and a temple of Athena at the site of the sanctuary of Athena *Pronaia*. The sanctuary was managed by the Delphic Amphictyony, a union of polities, and hosted musical games, the Pythia, which later included gymnastics as well. The worship of Apollo in Delphi was associated with the operation of an oracle, which soon developed to a significant political centre for the duration of ancient Greek history and certainly during the second colonial expansion (sixth century BC). Delphi's influence declined with time despite the efforts of several Roman emperors to revive its past glory. By the fourth century AD Delphi was Christianised and constituted the seat of a bishop. At the end of the sixth and the beginning of the seventh century AD the Slavs ravaged it. In the fifteenth century one of the earlier travellers in the region, Cyriacos of Ancona, found Kastri built on the ancient ruins (Bommelaer 1991: 13-24).

The site comprises two sanctuaries, one dedicated to Apollo and one to Athena *Pronaia*, as well as other ruins of the ancient city of Delphi, such as the Castalia spring and the *Gymnasium*. West of the walls of the sanctuary of Apollo, the archaeological museum of Delphi was built in 1903, extensively rebuilt and expanded in 1958 and it has been recently renovated (2004). Further west and east of the remains of the sanctuaries lie the ancient cemeteries. One comes

across tombs carved on the natural rock at the edges of the modern town of Delphi. Important for the decipherment of the archaeological site's ruins is the description by Pausanias and other literary sources, as well as the rich record of inscriptions preserved *in situ*.

The visitor who approaches the area from the east first comes across the ruins of the sanctuary of Athena *Pronaia*, on a terrace right below the modern road. The sanctuary comprises of the remains of two temples (one of the end of the sixth century BC and a more recent one in the fourth century BC), of altars, smaller treasure buildings (fifth century BC and sixth century BC) and heroes' cult sites, unidentified ruins as well as the emblematic ruins of the *Tholos* (fourth century BC, partially reconstructed in 1938) (Bommelaer 1991: 46-71).

Further on to the west lie the remains of the *Gymnasium* (fourth century BC), developed on two parallel terraces and including a *palaestra*, a *xyste* (a roofed course to practice running), a *paradromis* (open course) and a *loutron* organised around an outdoor pool. In the eighteenth century the *catholicon* of a monastery dedicated to the Virgin Mary was erected on the site of the *palaestra*. The church was demolished at the time of the site's excavation and its wall-painted decoration was transferred to the Christian and Byzantine Museum in Athens (Bommelaer 1991: 72-9).

Across the western entrance to the *Gymnasium* lie the remains of the Castalia spring, famous for its fresh water and the harmonious sound of its flow. In the picturesque setting of the Phaedriades rocks, the trees and the spring lie the remains of the ancient fountains, three in diachronic succession (an Archaic, a late Hellenistic-Roman and a modern one), unfortunately often inaccessible because of the risk of falling rocks (Bommelaer 1991: 81-5).

Further towards the west, at the lower level of the slope, one comes across more remains of the ancient city of Delphi. Once the visitor takes the trail up the slope, he/she comes across the remains of the Roman Forum, redeveloped in the early Christian times, and through it accesses the entrance to the sanctuary of Apollo at its south-eastern corner. The sanctuary developed on three terraces of the slope and the two sides of the uphill trail that leads the visitor through it. The remains of the temple of Apollo still stand on the first terrace (fourth century BC, partly reconstructed in 1941) across its monumental altar. The ancient theatre's orchestra occupies the second terrace and further up and to the west at the top of the slope lies the ancient stadium (plate 34). These three nuclei of ancient Greek worship are surrounded by the ruins, many of them still unidentified, of monuments dedicated by the city-states that dominated political life in ancient Greece. There are treasuries erected by the Athenians, the Corinthians, the Sicyonians, the Thebans, monuments by rulers of the Hellenistic kingdoms of Asia Minor, such as Eumenes II and Attalus I or even the Roman General Aemilius Paullus and other monuments to commemorate major political events, such as the battle of Marathon (490 BC) or the victory at the naval battle of Aegospotami (405 BC) (Bommelaer 1991: 89-239). Therefore the sanctuary of Apollo in Delphi constitutes a tableau of ancient Greek history for the duration of the sanctuary's and the oracle's life. During this itinerary, the view towards the south and the gorge that is formed by the mountainous volumes of Parnassus and towards the Corinthian gulf is breathtaking. The natural landscape of Delphi justifies entirely the mythical connection of the site with the Navel of the Earth.

The French School founded the archaeological museum of Delphi in 1903 with a donation by Andreas Syngros. After a series of renovations, the most recent of which took place in 1999, it is now a modern archaeological museum aimed at presenting the art of mainly the Archaic to the Roman periods as represented in

the votives and the monuments of the Sanctuaries. Very little, if any, is said in it about the life surrounding the sanctuary. Among its central pieces are the Charioteer, the so-called Kleovis and Viton complex and the Sphinx of the Naxians, all votives by individuals or city-states.

4.3.3 History of Archaeology

The names of 204 travellers are included in a list of visitors to Delphi before 1892 (Hellman 1992: 18-9). Even before the beginning of systematic excavation, in 1829, Ioannis Capodistrias, the first governor of Greece (1828-31), assigned the excavation of the east cemetery to the German architect Edmund Laurent (Pentazos 1992: 55). In 1830, Andreas Moustoxydis, curator of the first archaeological museum in Aegina, reported that the responsible inspector located important remains in Delphi and asked for the means to transport them to Aegina (Protopsaltis 1967: 139). Indeed, in 1832, the inventory of the same museum included antiquities from Delphi. In 1834 the inhabitants of Delphi requested that King Otto should build a museum to safeguard the antiquities. Instead, the young state, too fragile economically to respond to the request, forbade any use of property as dowry where ancient remains lay and the repair of any house. In 1838, efforts to transfer the village began. These lasted for half a century (Pentazos 1992: 55-7).

In 1858 the name of the village changed officially from Kastri to Delphi. A long period of negotiations between the Greek and French governments over the right of the French School in Athens to excavate in Delphi, later entangled with the ceding of concessions to Greece regarding the trade of Corinthian raisins in the French market, started in 1880. Two seasons of stormy rain (1864 and 1866) and a lethal earthquake (1870) rendered the issue of the transfer of Kastri pressing. Despite competition by the Archaeological Society in Athens, the

Germans, briefly, the Russians and finally the Americans, the final agreement was signed in 1891. As a result of this agreement, the expropriation of the properties and the transfer of the village were successfully completed at considerable expense to the French state. The 'Grande Fouille' started a year later, in 1892 (Amandry 1992; Pentazos 1992; Skorda 1992).

The excavation programme lasted for almost ten years and uncovered extensive areas of the sanctuary of Apollo (1892-1901). In 1904 the archaeological site was surrendered to the administration of the Ephorate (Bommelaer *et al.* 1992: 206). The French School has maintained a strong scientific interest in the site since then and its presence in Delphi is ongoing to the present day. Some of the archaeologists of the School spent more than half a century in Delphi and bonded with the area and the modern Delphians. Until today, there are eclectic relations between French culture and the area.

In the course of the twentieth century the archaeological work continued between successes and natural or man-made disasters, such as earthquakes and destructive falls of rocks from the Phaedriades as well as the two world wars. In 1906 the restoration of the Treasury of the Athenians was completed. Although excavations have been more limited and aimed more at illuminating research problems before important publications on Archaic and Classical art and architecture, research on the remains of Delphi has been ongoing. More recently, some of the earlier to the Archaic layers have become the focus of attention, as they become available during restoration works, thus uncovering the earlier history of the sanctuary. In the meantime, the site was fenced (1967), visitor services became available and entrance was ticketed. Millions of visitors have come since the emergence of mass tourism in the aftermath of the Second World War. Delphi was one of the first archaeological sites in Greece to receive tourists, who contributed to yet another alteration in the life and landscape of

Delphi from an agricultural to a service-based economy and society (Bommelaer *et al.* 1992).

The landscape of Delphi was almost dramatically changed once more when the Minister of Culture permitted the construction of an aluminium plant in the vicinity of Delphi. The decision was greeted by a local, national and international outcry, as the site's record in the Documentation Centre of ICOMOS testifies. After years of lobbying and motions put to the national and European parliaments, the site's inscription in the World Heritage List was deferred until the decision to build the plant at another location was taken. At that point the Greek government gave in; the aluminium plant was moved and the archaeological site of Delphi was inscribed in UNESCO's World Heritage List in 1987 (ICOMOS Documentation Centre Delphi files). Ironically, the same aluminium company partly funded the publication of a volume on the history of archaeology of Delphi by the French School and the Ephorate of Antiquities of Delphi in 1992 (Picard 1992).

Since the 1990s Delphi has always been in the top ten most visited archaeological sites in Greece, rating between the third and eighth position in visitor numbers. It is noteworthy that the only year the archaeological site of Delphi nearly went to the top of the list in terms of visitor numbers (3rd in 2003) was the year its museum was closed. This demonstrates that although inextricably connected, there are visitors who visit either only the site or only the museum. When the only choice for visitors was to visit the site, visitation numbers were significantly higher than in other years (by 18.5%). Visits to the site fell even more significantly (by 22.5%) when the new museum opened (Hellenic Statistical Authority 2011b).

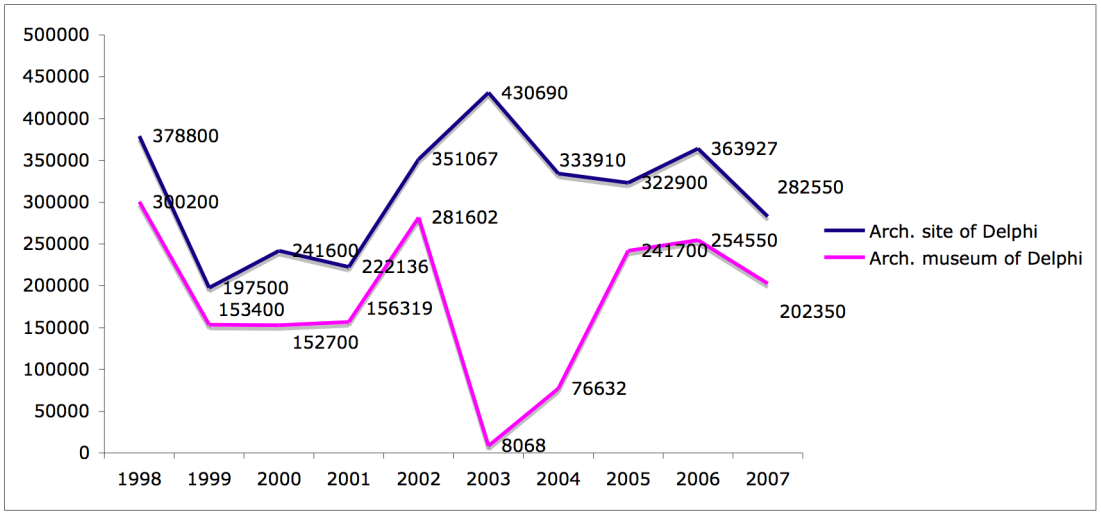

Figure 7 Visitor numbers to the arch. site and museum of Delphi from 1998 to 2007 (Hellenic Statistical Authority 2011b)

Overall there is a steady difference in the visitor numbers of the site and the museum (figure 7). If one excludes 2003 and 2004 (the museum closed in middle of January 2003 and reopened in August 2004 for renovation), the difference varies between 21% (1998) and 37% (2000) and between 25% (2005) and 30% (2006), since the museum reopened. Trends in visiting the archaeological site have varied over the last ten years. The year 1999 saw a decline of 48% in visitors while the rise since has been a lot slower (18% in 2000, 8% decline in 2001, 37% rise in 2002 and 18% further rise in 2003 and 22% decline again in 2004, as mentioned above). In 2005, there was another small decline (3%). Visitor numbers rose again in 2006 by 11% but fall again in 2007 by double the percentage (22%).

Regarding visiting trends within the calendar year (figure 8), the picture is more or less replicated from 1998. In 2007, the picture was more or less the same, with a rise that started in January, culminated in May and after a brief fall, rose again in August or September to follow a decline until December; an annual trend very similar to the one observed in the archaeological site of Philippi (see 4.1.3) despite the difference in the actual figures.

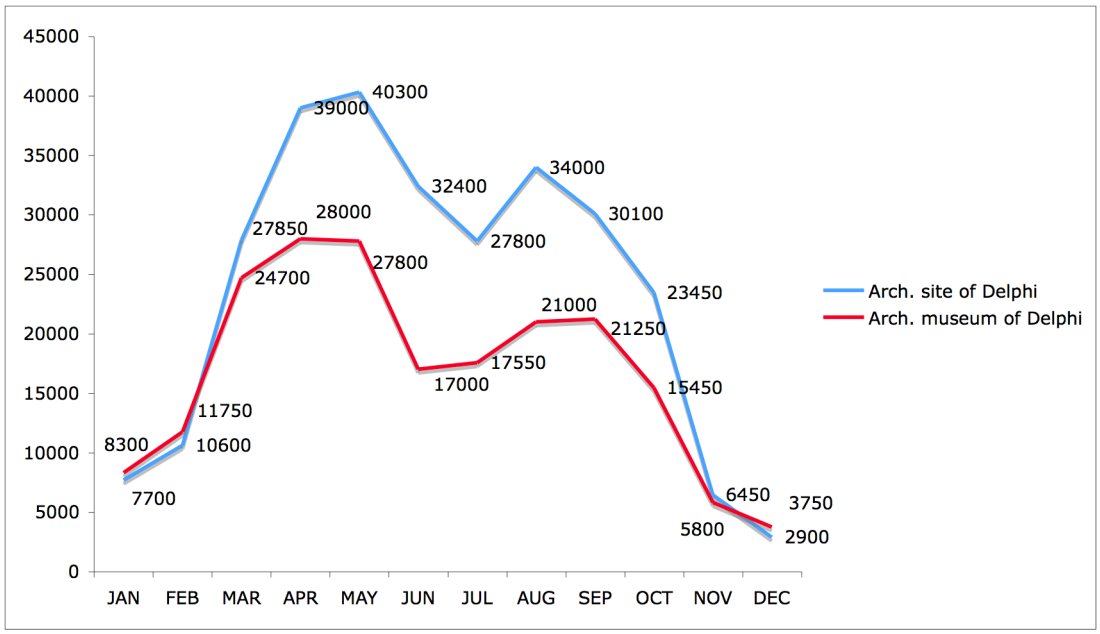

Figure 8 Visitor numbers to the arch. site and museum in Delphi in 2007 (Hellenic Statistical Authority 2011b)

4.4 The Nature of the Three Communities

Further to the context that history, archaeology and history of archaeology of the sites provide, crosstabulations of independent variables of the population survey highlight social features of the local communities. These determine the relationship between the local communities and archaeology to great extent, as further analysis demonstrates (see 5.1-5). Therefore, they are discussed here to illuminate how each variable has influenced the rest and the local community in general.

Regarding gender, there were no discrepancies in the participation of the two genders in the survey. It is not possible to discern differences between the three local communities attributable to it. However, it correlated with other independent variables, such as employment in the cases of Krenides and Dispilio and years of residence in Krenides and in Delphi.

Gender correlated with employment condition in Krenides (figure 9, table 5) and in Dispilio (figure 10, table 6) in the same way. More females are unemployed. Two thirds of the employed population are male and two thirds of the unemployed population are female.

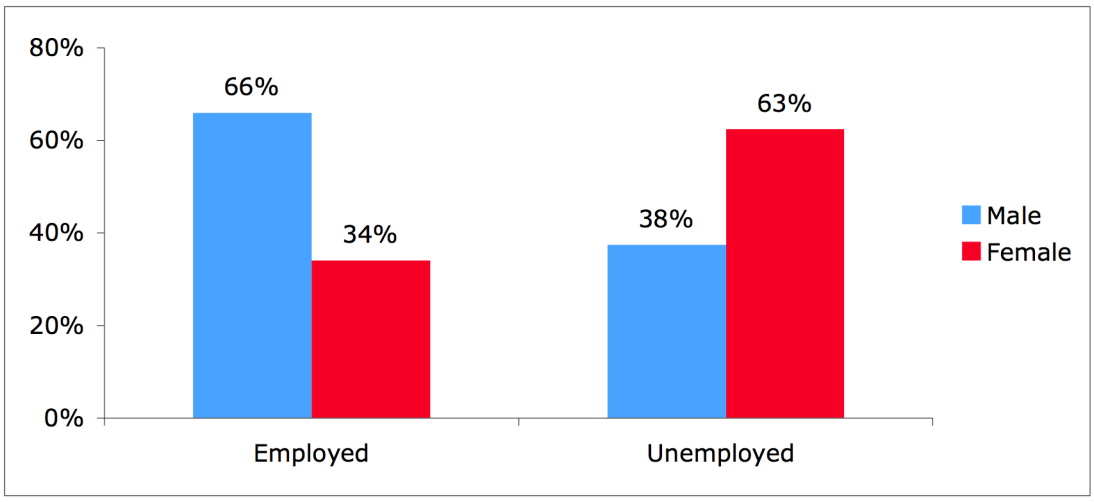

Figure 9 Gender by employment condition in Krenides (n= 98)

This result attributed to male participants the role of the politically, economically and socially active members of the communities and to females the role of the ones tending to be restricted to the family household. In Delphi the situation was a lot more equal between the two genders and there was no correlation.

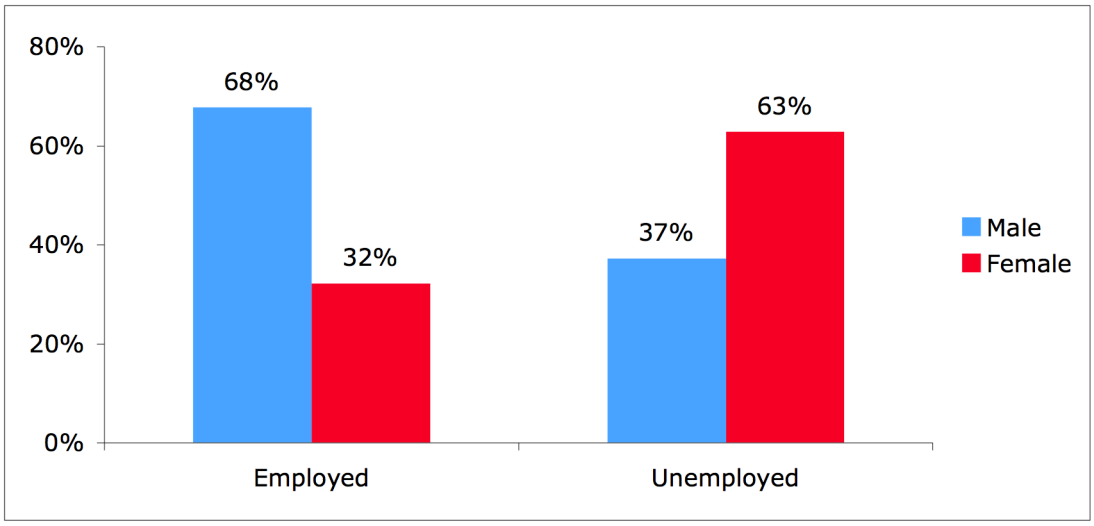

Figure 10 Gender by employment condition in Dispilio (n= 102)

Gender also correlated with years of residence in Krenides and in Delphi. More females had lived for less than 10 years in Krenides (figure 11, table 7).

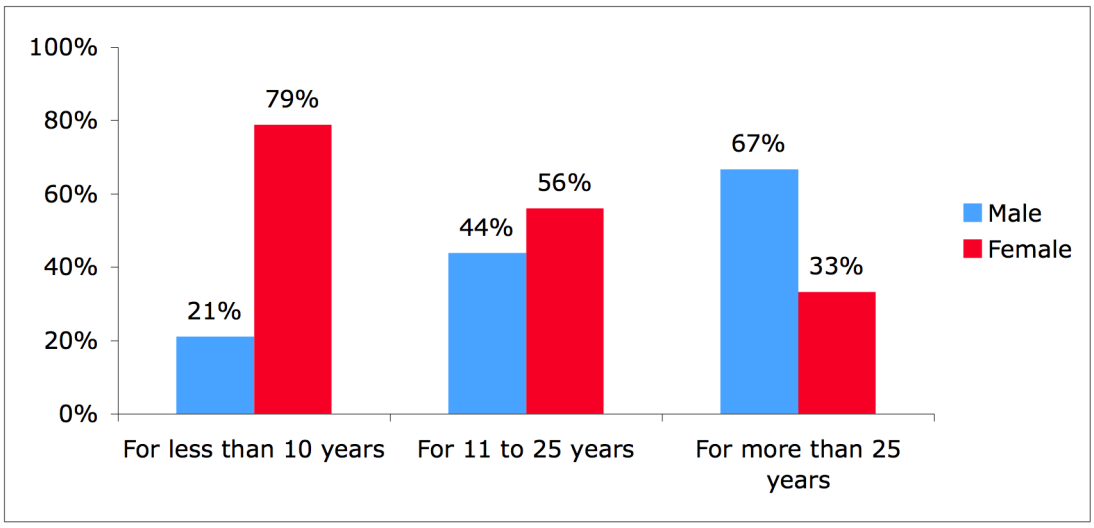

Figure 11 Gender by years of residence in Krenides (n= 98)

More females had lived in Delphi for 11 to 25 years (figure 12, table 8).

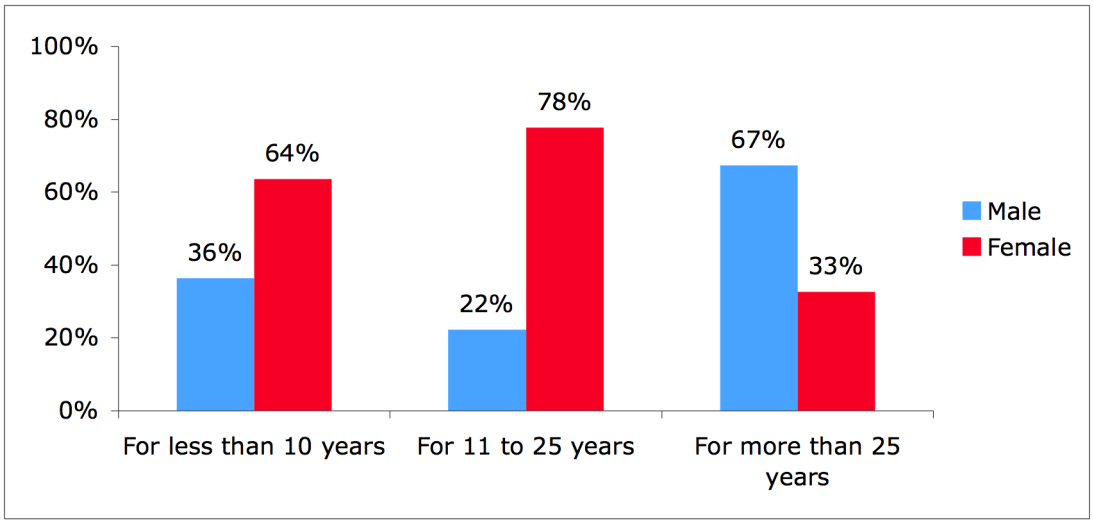

Figure 12 Gender by years of residence in Delphi (n= 84)

These results seem to indicate that females are the ones who move to males' houses after marriage, which might mean a stronger feeling of locality for males than females. During the questionnaire survey in Dispilio it became obvious that whether someone came from Dispilio or they got married to someone who came from there, strongly influenced their place in the community. Even people who had lived for the three last quarters of their lives there emphasised that they come from elsewhere in the question of duration of living in the community. It is therefore likely that the participants' relationship with archaeology has also been influenced by whether they come from the area or they were married into the area.

In Krenides, more participants 65 years old and over had only a basic educational background (figure 13, table 9). In Dispilio, fewer participants from 18 to 39 years old had only a basic educational background (figure 14, table 10).

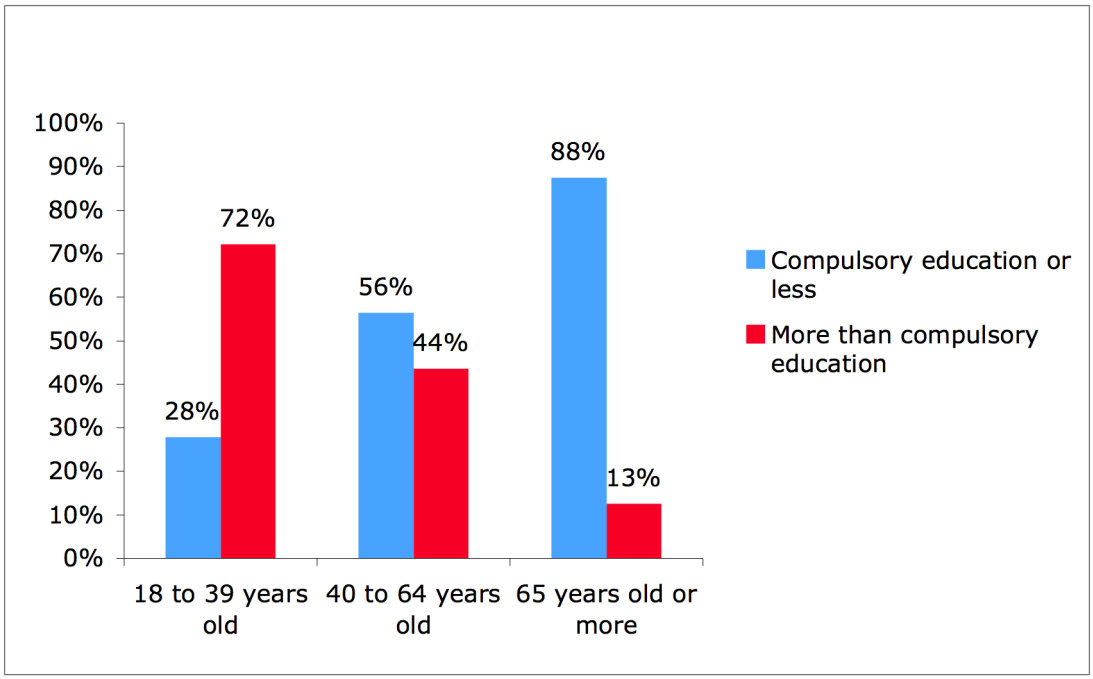

Figure 13 Age by educational level in Krenides (n= 98)

In Krenides, the lower percentage of participants from 40 to 64 years old who had compulsory education or less in comparison to Dispilio demonstrated that longer school attendance was achieved 50 to 25 years ago (1960s and on), bearing in mind that compulsory education in Greece is 12 years long.

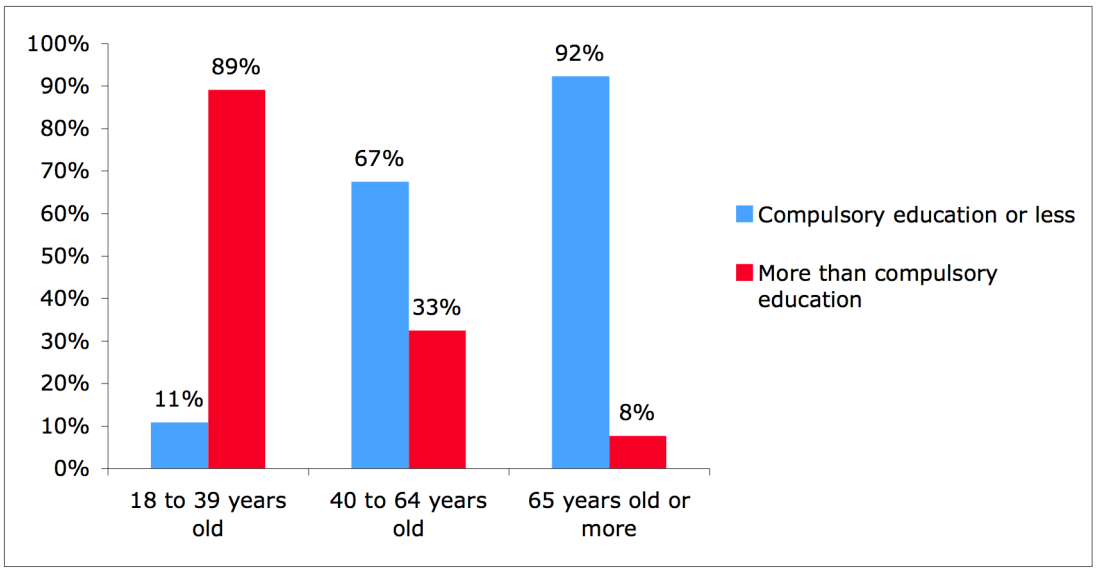

Figure 14 Age by educational level in Dispilio (n= 102)

In Dispilio, longer school attendance affected participants between 18 and 39 years old and indicated that the situation had improved more recently, in the last 25 years (1985 and on).

In Delphi, as in Dispilio, fewer participants from 18 to 39 years old had only basic educational educational attainment (figure 15, table 11).

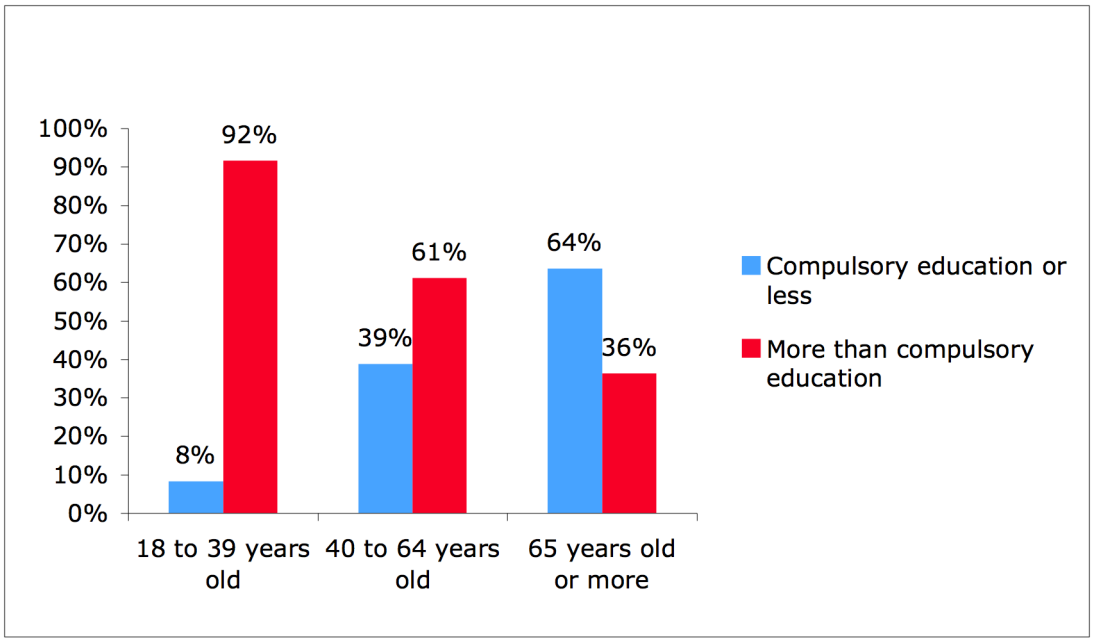

Figure 15 Age by educational level in Delphi (n= 83)

One cannot fail to notice that the situation in Delphi was very different from the other two sites. Delphi demonstrated the highest percentage of graduates of more than compulsory education for the ages from 40 to 64 and the smallest discrepancy in the percentages of the age group of 65 year-olds and more, indicating that longer school attendance started even earlier than the 1960s, as in Krenides.

The above results and their effects are even more explicitly demonstrated in a comparison of frequencies of all levels of education in each case study (figure 16, table 4). In this case one can identify the similarities between Krenides and

Dispilio and their differences to Delphi. The latter community has the fewest participants who have only graduated primary school or the first few classes of primary school and the most participants who have graduated high school or any post-secondary education, mainly universities.

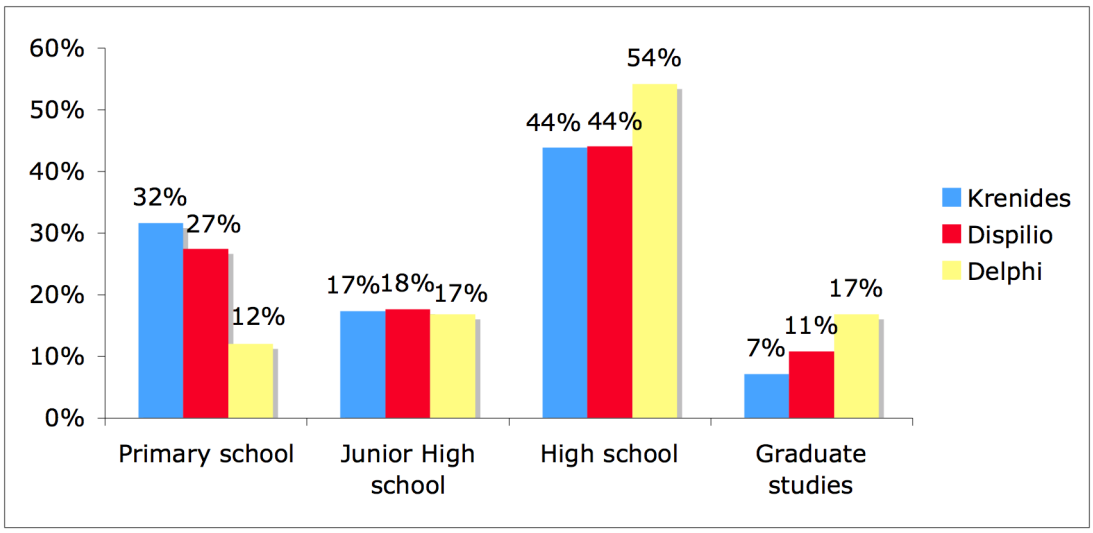

Figure 16 'What is the highest educational level you have reached?'

Age also correlated with the frequency of attendance to the Philippi Festival in Krenides. More participants from 65 years and older attended the Festival rarely or once every three years (figure 17, table 12).

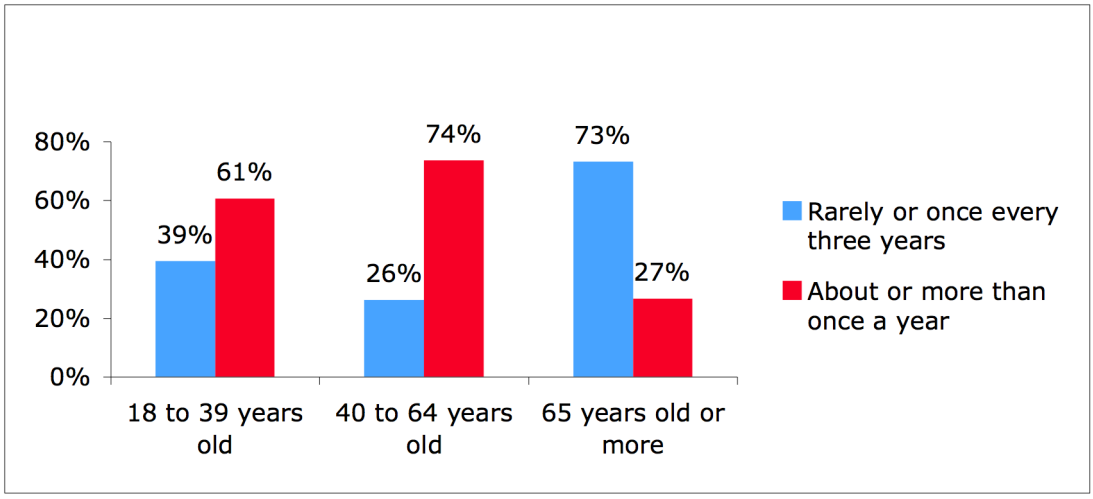

Figure 17 Age by frequency of attendance to the Philippi Festival in Krenides (n= 86)

This result demonstrated how age, either for health, mobility, general retreat from social life after retirement, educational or other reasons, influences participation in the local cultural landscape and potentially the appreciation and overall relationship with local archaeological resources and is similar to Merriman's findings of the less frequent engagement of older people with cultural heritage (see 1.10).

Regarding employment, a detailed reference to the frequencies of the different employment sectors explains inferences relevant to the differences in the local economies of the three sites. Similarities between Krenides and Dispilio and their differences to Delphi become evident (figure 18, table 3).

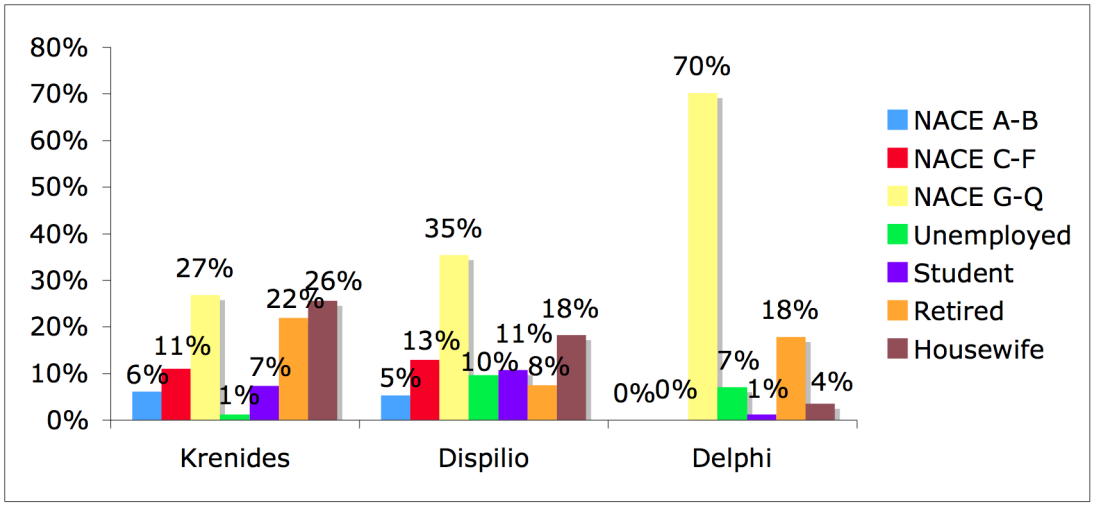

Figure 18 'What is your occupation?'

In Krenides, more unemployed participants graduated with compulsory education or less and more employed participants graduated with more than compulsory education (figure 19, table 13).

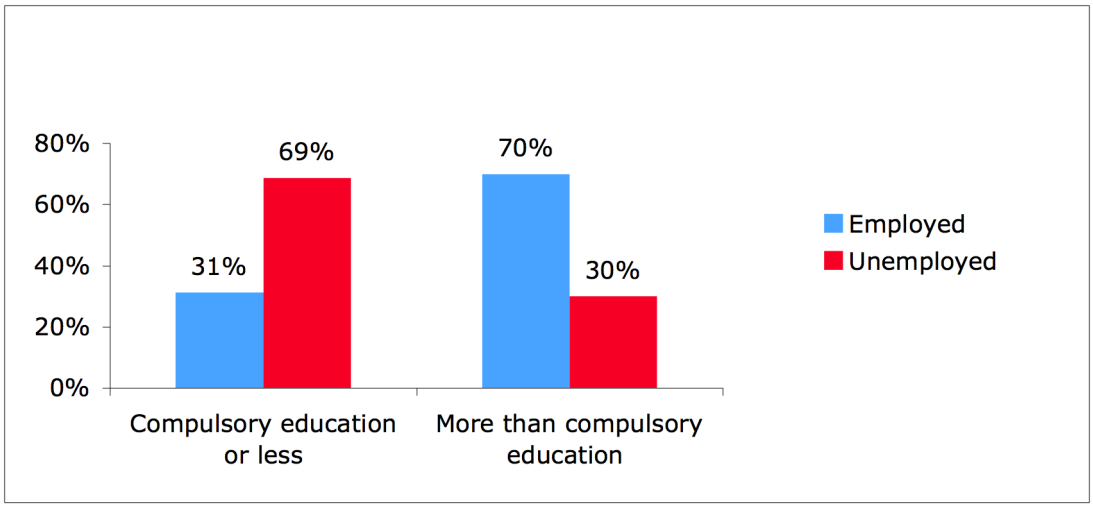

Figure 19 Employment condition by educational level in Krenides (n= 98)

In Delphi, fewer unemployed participants graduated with more than compulsory education (figure 20, table 14).

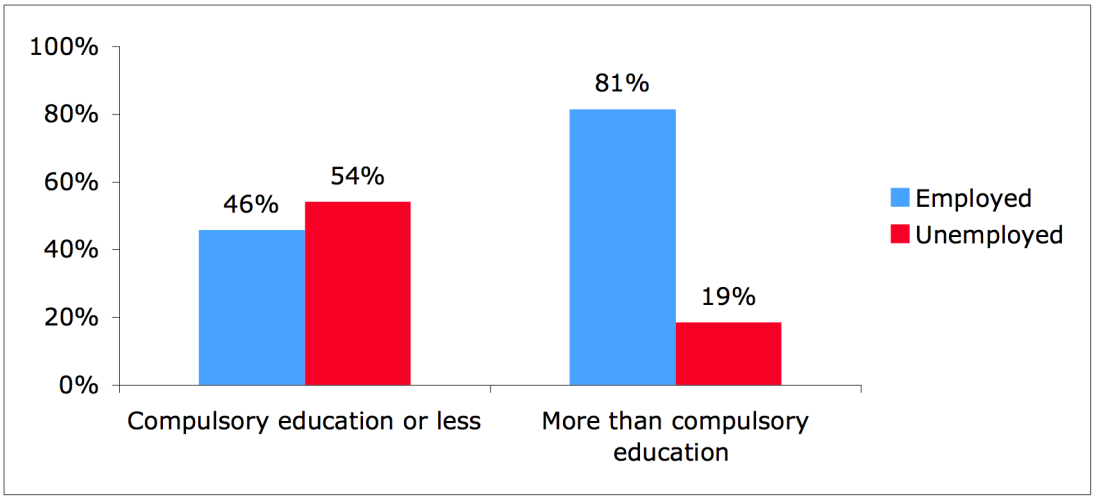

Figure 20 Employment condition by educational level in Delphi (n= 83)

These results demonstrated that one out of three employed participants and two thirds of unemployed ones, or half and four fifths respectively, in the case of Delphi, had only graduated with compulsory education or less, and provided an understanding of the educational background of employed and unemployed participants.

Regarding the years of residence of participants in the local community, it became obvious that long-term residents dominated the sample in all cases (figure 21, table 15).

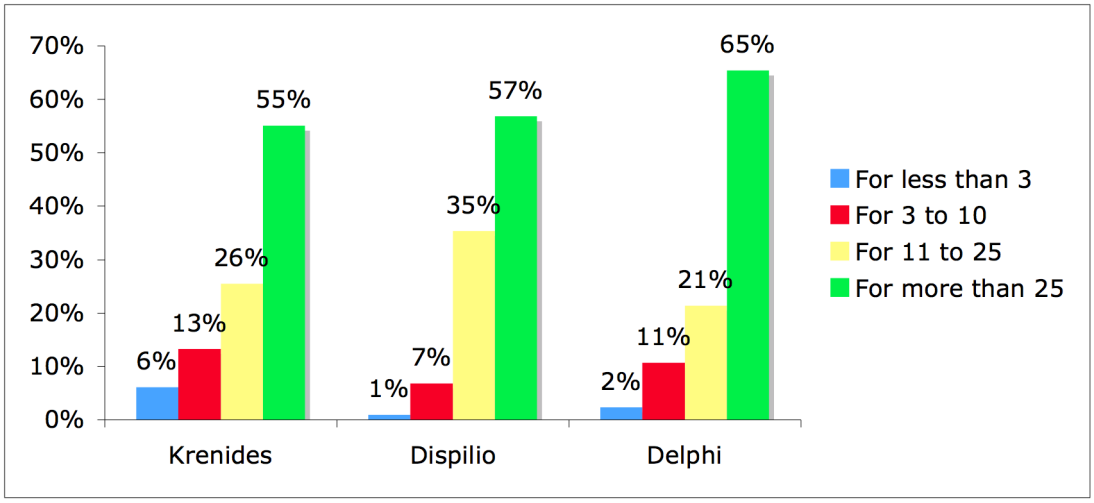

Figure 21 'For how many years in total have you lived in Krenides/Dispilio/Delphi?'

Further elaboration of participants' comments demonstrated the role some of these features play in the relationship between archaeology and local communities. In regards to Dispilio's local economy (see 4.2.1 and 5.1.3), participants' repeated comments indicated an idiosyncratic relationship of this local community with money. Members of the archaeological team also referred to the economic problem caused by the decline of the fur industry as 'acute'. A comment by a representative of the local Cultural Association offered more insight to the situation. He said that locals were obsessed with money partly because of the increasing failure of the fur industry and partly because Dispilio used to be a gambling centre, when people had more money. He added that they were also lazy; it is a common tactic to sell a field every few years so that they can sit around until they need to worry about money again.

In this context, one understands participants' statements that archaeology is a 'clique', a 'closed system', and a way to obtain money. Others referred to the

archaeological project as 'pits that make money for the archaeologists', in relation to the high sums included on the project signs. Such comments were usually expressed with contempt and brought up the issue of corruption and speculation, problems strongly associated with archaeology, even more so after a scandal involving the General Secretary of the Ministry of Culture broke in December 2007, a few months before fieldwork took place.

In Delphi and in Krenides, on the other hand, the locals' attention was more on the potential income from investing in the tourism industry. There was actually no reference to the cost of archaeological works, again with the exception of comments regarding the local community receiving a share of the archaeological site's and museum receipts in Delphi. Any contempt expressed regarded the condition of the archaeological sites and was clearly aimed at the Archaeological Service while university and foreign archaeologists enjoyed broad acceptance and admiration by the locals for their persistence in researching 'their site'. This attitude alluded to Deltsiou's conclusions (2009) on how the halting of further research at the archaeological site of ancient Sikyon by the Archaeological Service, as is the case in Philippi and Delphi as well, influenced locals' feelings of perceived devaluation of their local heritage by the state (see 2.2.7).

The social implications of the above become obvious in all cases. Early association with a foreign archaeological team and the first influx of international tourists since the 1950s have shaped the social features of the local community in Delphi. The current issue regards the social division created by unequal access to eight-months contract jobs with the state.

In Krenides, only the owner of the business right next to the archaeological site benefits from tourists for now. As a consequence, coffee shop owners in the

village spoke against him and the tourist agents for 'not allowing [sic]' tourists to visit the local community. There the issue was primarily focused on the way tour agents and guides managed visitors.

In Dispilio, the visitor industry is not developed either. Even the coffee shop-restaurant at the Ecomuseum did not operate regularly at the time of fieldwork (August 2008). Members of the archaeological team referred to the social character of the area as 'introvert' and associated it with the local economy; the long hours of individual work for the fur industry, in a noisy environment, that did not encourage communication. Another way the fur industry affected the local community was, as a former worker in the industry and in the excavation noted, the fact that children used to leave school after primary education to work. These phenomena relate to the level of receptiveness of the local community and its ability to appreciate local archaeology (see above on educational level).

There are also acute drug and drinking problems in the area, as members of the local youth pointed out. At the time of fieldwork, they had organised a music concert with the aim of raising awareness locally on drug use. They invited the university archaeologist to give an introductory talk to their event; an indication of the archaeological team's authoritative role, despite the challenges, as perceived especially by the younger members of the community. One of them was a student of Medicine in the University of Thessaloniki while another had studied conservation in Thessaloniki as well. The above in combination with the fact that it was the year the first generation of locals who were born after the excavation started will become adult could be seen to constitute marker points for the development of an improved relationship between archaeology and the local community.

Another feature that was more obvious in Dispilio than in any other community was suspicion. The locals' suspicion took many directions; the municipality, the project, the place the findings go, etc. This might explain the distinction participants often made between locals and newcomers. Participants who were not originally from Dispilio made sure to note their provenance even if they had been living in Dispilio for most of their lives (see above). Locals originating from Dispilio often accused newcomers of not assimilating with the rest. This carefully marked distinction referred to introversion and hesitation towards the 'other'.

Finally, members of the local community described their settlement as a 'passage'. This description attributes a character of passivity, maybe one could claim introversion indeed, and internal stillness. It is interesting here to draw a comparison with Krenides. There the local administration and the community promote the identity of a 'crossroad of civilisations', obviously referring to the past glory of the area with the due respect and pride.

Regarding the cultural landscape of these settlements, Delphi and Krenides had the opportunity from quite early on to host important cultural events. The Delphic Festival (see 4.3.1) made the site the centre of the country's cultural life in the inter-war period and brought the most eminent Greeks to the village. The impact of the Sikelianos couple was still felt in their house, that is now a 'Museum of the Delphic Festivals', but even more so in the local imagination, as participants' parents' and grandparents' narrations revealed.

Even after the short life of the Delphic Festival was over, the close contact with the French archaeologists exposed and sensitised the local community to a foreign culture. The families who were closer to the French drew pride from this privileged relationship with the foreign archaeologists. A former worker

even quoted Greek poetry with reference to Delphi. The daughter of a foreman told me with great pride that P. Amandry, one of the most eminent archaeologists who researched Delphi, was her godfather. She narrated that her parents sent her to the French School in Athens under his influence and so she became a French teacher in Delphi. Locals also drew pride by pointing out the exact location where their family's house used to stand in the archaeological site. Participants in Delphi exhibited greater interest in the survey, made suggestions and extended their comments beyond the scope of the questions, thus demonstrating an embedded interest in the archaeological matters of their area and the fact that archaeology possibly took up a great part in their lives.

In Krenides, the impact of the Festival has been ongoing and has brought the locals into contact with ancient Greek drama as well as significant figures of the Greek theatrical scene. This impact has started to show in the initiatives taken locally regarding the foundation of HERAC, the hosting of the prefecture's EEC and the active pursuit of the site's inscription to UNESCO's World Heritage List. Each one of these initiatives has contributed to the future of Krenides. The impact of the French archaeological teams who had worked there from time to time was not felt as broadly as in Delphi. In Krenides too, some locals drew pride from what they felt as a privileged relationship with a team in the past, because the French used to take breakfast at their coffee shop or because they used to rent their house.

In Dispilio, the cultural landscape of the local community seems to have been restricted to the uses of the area where the archaeological site is: the Ascension Fair, school gymnastic performances, football games etc. (Touloumis 2008: 33-5). The Ascension Fair still seemed to be the most prominent cultural occasion, one that brings Dispilio to the attention of the rest of the prefecture (Cultural Association 1994: 33-40). Its folk character reflects the cultural influences of the

local community. The impact on the local community that the archaeologists attributed to the local church's representative also enforces this inference. A participant's statement that she did not want to believe that we come from animals [sic] but she believed that we come from God reflected this. According to the archaeologists' sources, the local church representative 'theorised' his objections to the archaeological project by preaching that Christ brought culture to earth and therefore archaeologists research Satan's works, since they are interested in the pre-Christian past. While one cannot claim that this attitude was representative of the entire community and while the locals' perceptions slowly change as they see the rising number of visitors, as the representative of a former local administration said, it revealed the existence of a rather conservative group of locals.

Delphi is at the other end of the spectrum. As a foreign shop owner said in Delphi, people there are open-minded because they socialise with foreigners from a young age. Children learn foreign languages early and also work at their parents' businesses from an early age and thus become responsible and not spoiled. She also referred to the negative consequences of the above that became obvious when the shop owners reacted to ancient drama performances in the new theatre. Although the local community was waiting for the performances for many years, after the ancient one was closed for conservation and by the time the new one was completed, they protested because they had to stay open late and wait for visitors to come back to town to shop. Participants even referred to the ways long-term contact with visitors had weakened the community's social cohesion.

Other differences in the way local administrations deal with archaeology and archaeologists have been discussed elsewhere (see 5.1.4). It is worth noting that members of the archaeological team in Dispilio reported that they enjoyed more

support from the Community of Dispilio. Another indication regarding the nature of Dispilio was what the representative of a former local administration said that everything failed at the first attempt but after a couple of years, efforts were successful; a reference to a level of resistance to change.

Indeed, in the case of Dispilio, it seems that many things have changed in the last thirty years. There used to be farming, fishing, reed collection and weaving, swimming, football playing, school gymnastics' performances, boat connection to Kastoria, and the Ascension Fair around the site (Cultural Association: 33-40; Touloumis 2008: 33-5). In recent years, extensive pollution of the lake, environmentalists' interventions, and designation of land use for urban planning has halted some of this activity. Greater changes, such as the use of cars or the change in building materials has rendered boats and reeds irrelevant to modern life. Therefore the occupation of the site by the archaeological team in a way coincided in time with a series of changes in the use of a space that until then had played a central role in the social and cultural life of the local community and their relationship with probably the most definitive element of their local identity, the lakeside character of their community.

CHAPTER FIVE. GREEK ARCHAEOLOGY AND LOCAL COMMUNITIES TODAY – AN ANALYSIS

5.1 The Relationship Between Archaeology and Local Communities

5.1.1 Introduction

This section addresses the key areas of the research, having examined the history and development of Greek archaeology and considered the interface between the Greek people and their past as it currently stands. This chapter considers the existing relationships, based on extensive fieldwork and investigation in the three case studies outlined in Chapter Four, in order to understand better the present and future state of the relationship of archaeology with local communities.

This relationship is approached here in three ways:

First, the overall relationship is considered with reference to associations participants made with the word 'archaeology', their interest in archaeology and their level of agreement with statements regarding the mission of the discipline, the place of ancient Greek civilisation in world history and the link between monuments of the past and national identity. Participants' opinions on the relevance of archaeology to contemporary life are also discussed.

Second, a more practical aspect of participants' relationship with archaeology is investigated. This relates to awareness of the legislation and of the Archaeological Service (see 2.1.4-5), their personal experience of the Service, their relationship with the local archaeological site or museum in terms of frequency of visits, reason for and impression of their last visit and the

frequency of their visits to other archaeological sites and museums. A question regarding the particular cultural setting of each community is evaluated as a relevant indicator of their cultural habits, not necessarily related to archaeology.

Third, the impact of archaeology within these local communities is discussed in economic, socio-cultural and political terms as it stems from further answers to the questionnaire survey, the interviews with stakeholders and other data such as national censuses. Figures illustrate the results discussed and references direct to frequency and contingency tables in Appendix IV.

5.1.2 Overall Relationship

Regarding what participants associate archaeology with, in Krenides, participants most frequently associated archaeology with their area (19%, 'the ancient theatre', 'my/our place' and 'the site/antiquities in Philippi') (table 16). Second came the association with culture in general (12%) and third the association with something they like and they think as valuable and important, expressed in vague terms (10%). Fourth came the association with trouble, problems and mess (6%).

The same pattern more or less repeated in all cases with minor differences. That is, in Dispilio participants most frequently associated archaeology with the lake settlement of their area (9%), then with something 'nice' and 'good' with no further specification (8%), third came the association with excavations (7%) and culture (7%) and fourth came 'findings' (6%) and 'interests, money, problems etc.' (6%). In Delphi, participants primarily associated archaeology with their area (30%), then with something 'nice' (11%), then with culture (10%) and fourth came 'history' (7%) and 'difficulties, expropriations, prohibitions' (7%).

The most distinctive pattern across the three cases appears in relation to associations with locality, when one places the cases either in chronological order of archaeology's appearance or in order of monumentality and prominence in national history. Therefore in Delphi more than a quarter of participants associated archaeology with the local site and the museum, in Krenides almost one fifth and in Dispilio almost one tenth.

It is noteworthy that more people referred to 'excavations' in Dispilio than in the other two sites. This might have been a result of the different kind of archaeological remains (prehistoric as opposed to Classical, Roman, Byzantine) found in Dispilio and the different kind of archaeologists active on site (prehistorians as opposed to Classical archaeologists) (see 2.1.2, 2.1.5 and 4.1-3). Also no one mentioned the word 'museum' in Krenides (the museum there has been closed for the last fifteen years) in contrast to Delphi, where the museum was recently renovated for the 2004 Olympics. Public perceptions are, therefore, related to the reality and present condition of the local archaeological resource.

Participants' answers evoke further remarks. The group of answers 'stones' demonstrates the lack of interpretation and understanding of archaeological resources as anything other than what is visually perceivable, in the same sense as category A of Matsuda's schematisation of interpretation works (see 1.10), archaeological resources un-contextualised. The fact that when participants want to express themselves positively about archaeology they use vague expressions (e.g. 'nice', 'good', 'important') is also noted. They are a lot more specific about its negative aspects (e.g. 'money', 'interests', 'bribe'). In general, there is a marked difficulty in isolating specific and articulate answers, much more in Krenides and in Dispilio than in Delphi, also mentioned in Dassiou's research (2005, see 2.2.5) on the understanding of archaeology among Greek school children. A lack of ability to talk about archaeology in specific terms was

again demonstrated. Hourmouziadis (1980: 42) has called museum visitors who express themselves in such ways as 'carriers of a half-learned aesthetic theory'.

In order to compare these results to those of other surveys, the categories of 'accurate' and 'reasonable' were adopted according to Pokotylo and Guppy's (1999) framework (see 1.10). Answers that reflect association with at least part of the field's core preoccupations: objectives, methods, outcomes and results (e.g. 'people living in the old times', 'excavations', 'findings', 'antiquity') were classified as 'accurate'. Answers that reflect association with the broader realms of archaeology (e.g. 'culture', 'history', 'ancient Greece') were classified as 'reasonable'. For answers that reflect association with specific parts of the culture of the past, material or historical, expressed through the name of a historical person, a work of art or a site (e.g. Alexander the Great, Aphrodite of Melos, Olympia) a category called 'synecdoche' was used. For answers that demonstrated a mediated approach, associated with personal experience, locality, origin, personal interest (e.g. 'the antiquities of our area', 'employment', 'my son', 'stones') a category called 'appropriated' was used. There were also answers classified as 'value judgements' (e.g. 'something nice', 'the most valuable thing Greece has', 'I'm sick of it'), 'vague' associations (e.g. 'something ancient') and finally, 'nothing'.

Appropriated associations clearly dominated at Delphi and Krenides with accurate and reasonable associations following (figure 22, table 17). In Dispilio, more than a third of participants maintained accurate associations with reasonable and appropriated following. If one merges accurate and reasonable answers and compares them to a group of more subjective understandings that includes synecdoche, appropriated associations and value judgments, a clearer picture emerges. At Delphi, appropriated associations accumulate 56% to 43% of accurate ones; in Krenides the percentages are 53% to 43% respectively and

in Dispilio 31% to 57% respectively. It seems that the longer archaeology has been present for, the more locals tend to identify it with their locality, appropriate its association and engage with it through their own every day experience. In the case of Dispilio, locals still understand archaeology in a more 'accurate' and distanced way, through what they know about it. It is noteworthy that results in Dispilio are closer to the ones of the North American surveys discussed above (see 1.10).

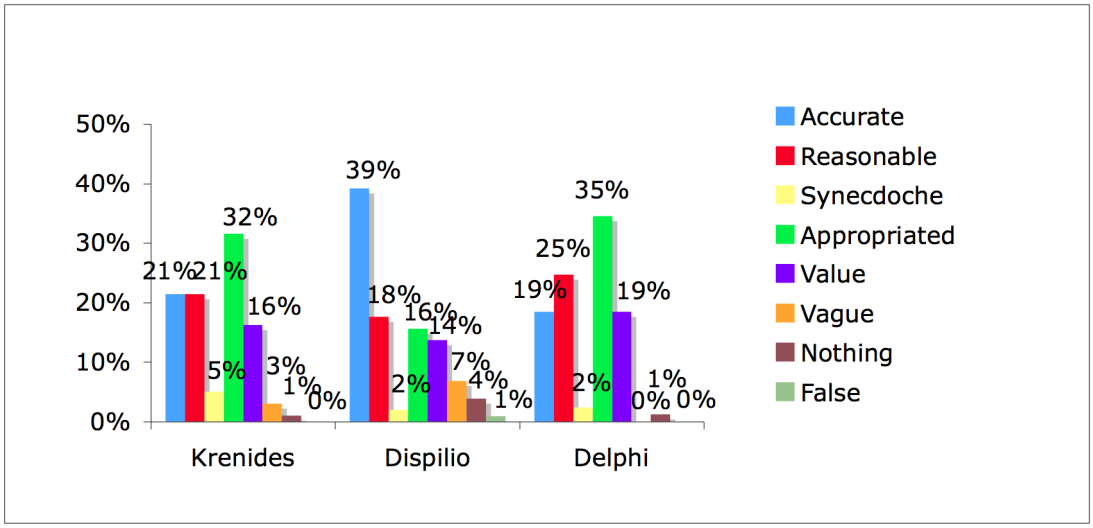

Figure 22 "What do you think of when you hear the word 'archaeology'?"

However, there are also noticeable differences between the answers in this and the other surveys that were considered in 1.10. These differences can be partly explained by the way the question was asked followed by the probe: "what is the first thing that comes to your mind when you hear the word 'archaeology'?" In the case of the Greek case studies each participant was encouraged to make more spontaneous associations to archaeology rather than explain the word's meaning, describe it or define it. This is not to say that a spontaneous association is not related to the individual's understanding of the term. This can partly explain the more emotive character of the responses and their broad conceptualisation.

A supplementary explanation may well relate to just how much more prominent archaeology is in every day life in Greece and in the particular communities especially (which was the reason they were selected as case studies in the first place and is further discussed in the analysis) than is in North America. Participants in local communities are more likely to have personal experiences and give more emotive answers than those who come into contact with archaeology only through formalised experience such as museum and site visits or formal education, as participants in general population surveys. It appears that those in local communities in Greece, because of the close association with archaeology clearly have a much closer relationship to it — however they express this in the survey work undertaken for this thesis. In the same way and to underline these points of difference, no participant in any of the Greek case studies associated archaeology with palaeontology, geology or dinosaurs. No answer could be classified as 'romantic' either.

The only independent variable that correlated with answers to the same question was "knowledge of 'Natura 2000'" (see 4.2.1) regarding participants in Dispilio (figure 23, table 18). Participants who knew of 'Natura 2000' associated archaeology with positive or negative value while participants who did not know of it maintained appropriated associations.

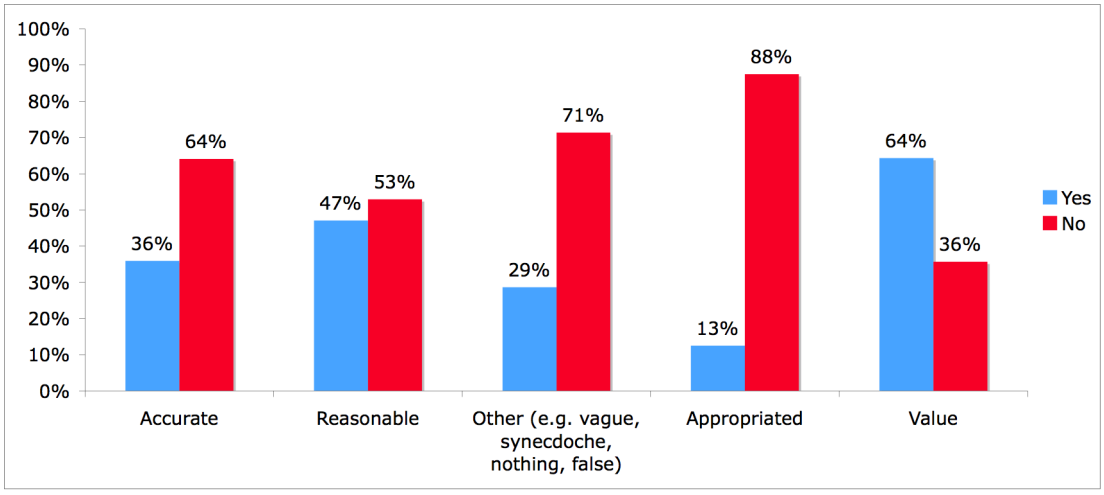

Figure 23 Associations of archaeology by knowledge of 'Natura 2000' (n= 100)

This result could mean that environmental awareness is a feature that is combined with a critical, either positive or negative, stance towards archaeology rather than with an emotive attitude towards it.

Percentages vary slightly from case to case regarding personal interest in archaeology on a scale from 1 (not interested at all) to 10 (extremely interested) (figure 24, table 19). Overall more than half of participants stated that they were interested in archaeology (over 7). The highest percentage of interested participants was found in Delphi (70%, half of whom graded it between 9 and 10). In Krenides, the percentage of participants who were interested in archaeology was slightly lower, but still with more than half between 9 and 10. Finally in Dispilio, 56% of participants stated that they are interested, almost half of them from 9 to 10.

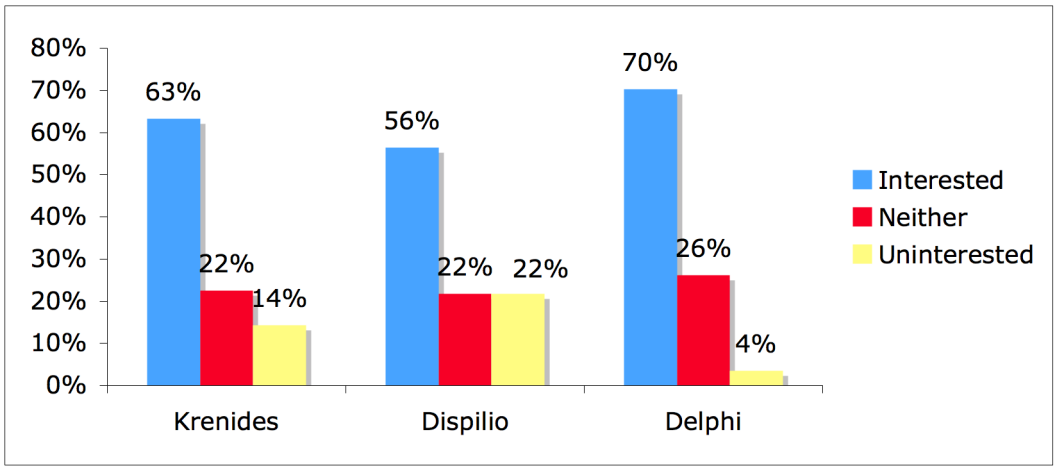

Figure 24 'On a scale of 1 (not interested at all) to 10 (extremely interested), how much would you say you are interested in archaeology?'

Again a pattern can be seen emerging between Delphi, Krenides and Dispilio. The percentage of participants interested in archaeology decreases from Delphi to Krenides and finally with Dispilio while that of uninterested participants increases. This may well be a result of the longer presence of archaeology in these areas and the monumentality of their local resources, as noted in relation to the associations of archaeology (see above). The consistency of percentages of

people whose interest lies in the middle of the scale in all communities is also noteworthy, and again contrasts with the results of North American surveys. Percentages of interested participants in the Greek case studies were almost double while fewer respondents situated themselves in the middle and the 'uninterested' end of the scale (see 1.10).

In Krenides, the interest of participants in archaeology correlated with educational level (figure 25, table 20). The great majority of participants who stated that they were uninterested in archaeology have undergone more than minimum compulsory education. Percentages did not vary significantly in the other two categories.

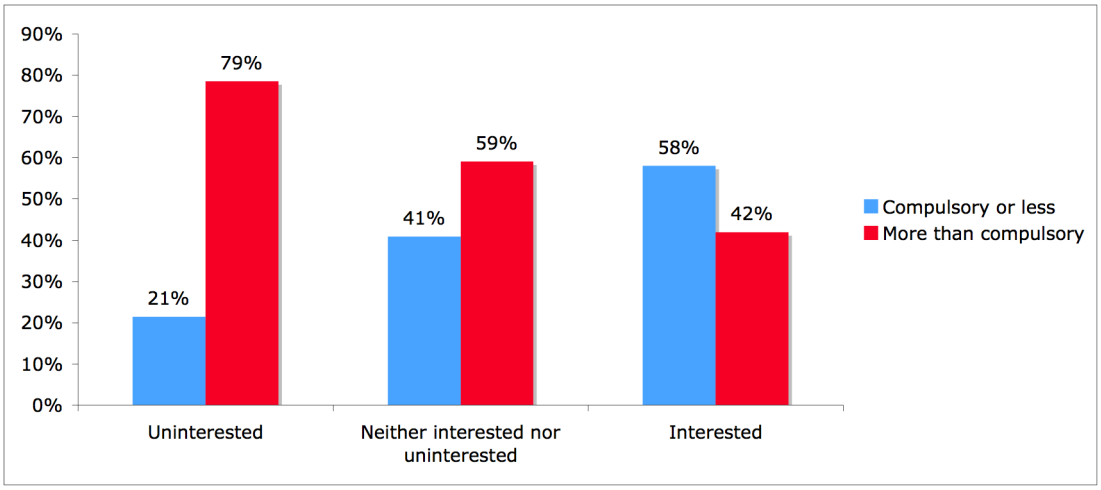

Figure 25 Interest in archaeology by educational level in Krenides (n= 98)

In Krenides it appears that the more educated one is, the less likely it is that one will be interested in archaeology. This is a remarkable result considering that most of the literature regarding archaeology as a middle class endeavour as well as other surveys from elsewhere and Bourdieu's theory on cultural capital indicate that interest in archaeology increases with the increase of educational level (see 1.10).

A series of explanations that begin to demonstrate the complexity of communicating archaeology can be offered:

One explanation might be that the way archaeology is presented to the public is not engaging for more educated audiences. Scholars have already extensively elaborated on the effect of museum exhibitions that emphasise the material aspects of antiquity and their physical features, leaving huge gaps in the interpretation and understanding of the past and thus rendering archaeology irrelevant to the broader public (see 2.2.2). Indeed, many participants, both archaeologists and local community representatives, either were critical of museum exhibitions because the exclusive use of jargon renders them intellectually inaccessible for the public or expressed the opinion that archaeology is an incomprehensible subject for the non-expert.

Even if one visits archaeological museums, the majority of exhibitions, especially in provincial museums, are developed around the material remains of antiquity and their physical aspects. The visitor is called on to combine the un-contextualised jargon with the glorified national narrative as taught in public education without any interpretation and context regarding life in the past in its complexity, variety and through its multiple meanings. He/she is taken through a pedantic aesthetic exercise that results in the realisation of a deficiency to understand 'high art' where it may well be a result of a deficiency on the part of the experts to explain the results of their research in clear terms.

Another explanation may be that participants with less education believe that if they state that they are interested in archaeology, they partake in the cultural capital, as discussed by Bourdieu (see 1.10). Participants of a higher educational level may either believe that they possess cultural capital and therefore do not

need to express interest in archaeology to confirm it or feel that they do not possess any and thus are self-excluded from anything relevant to archaeology.

This in turn could lead to a conclusion that archaeology is not a middle class endeavour in Greece, at least not outside the urban centres of the country. Even if engagement with archaeology and visiting museum exhibitions is a middle-class trend in the urban centres, the case is not the same in rural Greece. Local communities of rural Greece and especially their more educated groups, at least in this case, do not express the same interest in archaeology. The above explanations are not mutually exclusive and a combination is possible.

Participants were asked to agree or disagree, on a scale from 1 (strongly disagree) to 10 (strongly agree), with three statements drawn from research concerning archaeology in education (Kasvikis 2004: 289-305), and related to the mission of archaeology, the place of ancient Greek civilisation in world history, and the significance of monuments of the past for the Greek national identity. Regarding the statement 'Greek archaeology's national mission is to prove Greece's glorious past', a great majority strongly agreed in all three case studies (figure 26, table 21).

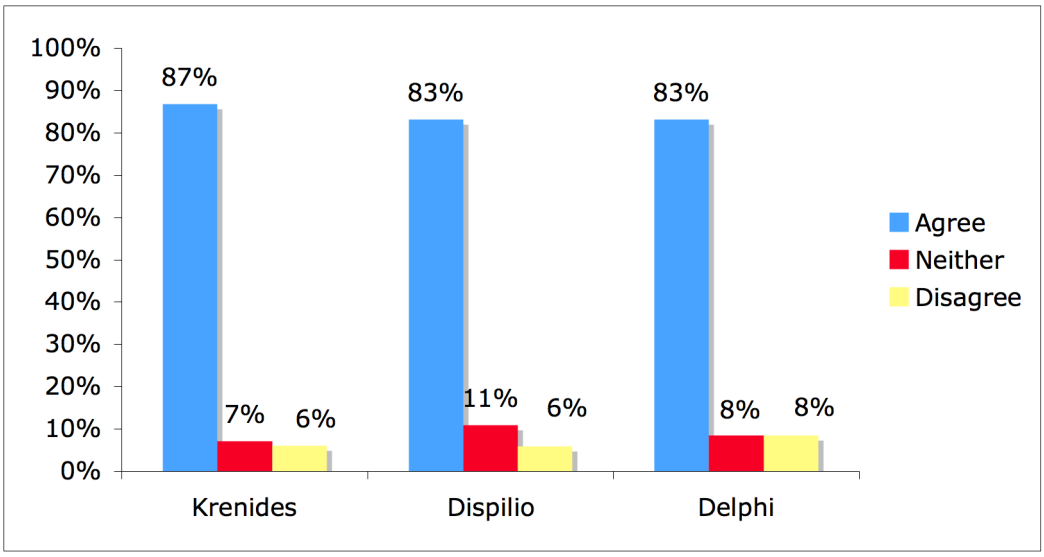

Figure 26 Opinion on the mission of Greek archaeology

This result demonstrates that the perception of Greek archaeology as enlisted to the cause of building the nation-state, clearly representative of the initial aim of the discipline in the nineteenth century (see 2.1.2), persists in the public understanding of the discipline. Although Greek archaeology has tried to distance itself from this aim, efforts with public impact are quite recent and limited, certainly in rural areas (for example, the exhibitions 'Daily life in Byzantium' and 'The City Beneath the City', on the more humble remains of Classical Athens, the former organised by three museums in Athens, Thessaloniki and Mystras and the latter by a private museum in Athens).

Fewer participants agreed with the statement that 'Ancient Greek civilisation is the oldest in the world and unsurpassable by any other ancient civilisation' (figure 27, table 22), although the level of agreement was still high.

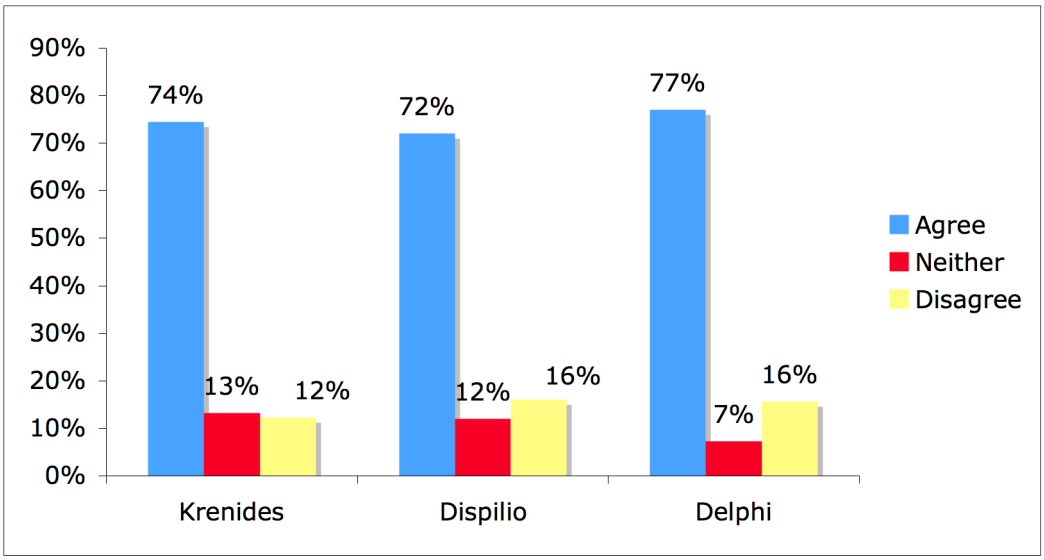

Figure 27 Opinion on ancient Greek civilisation

The vast majority of each case study agreed with the final statement, that 'the monuments of the past constitute one of the most important sources, if not the most important one, of the Greek national identity' (figure 28, table 23).

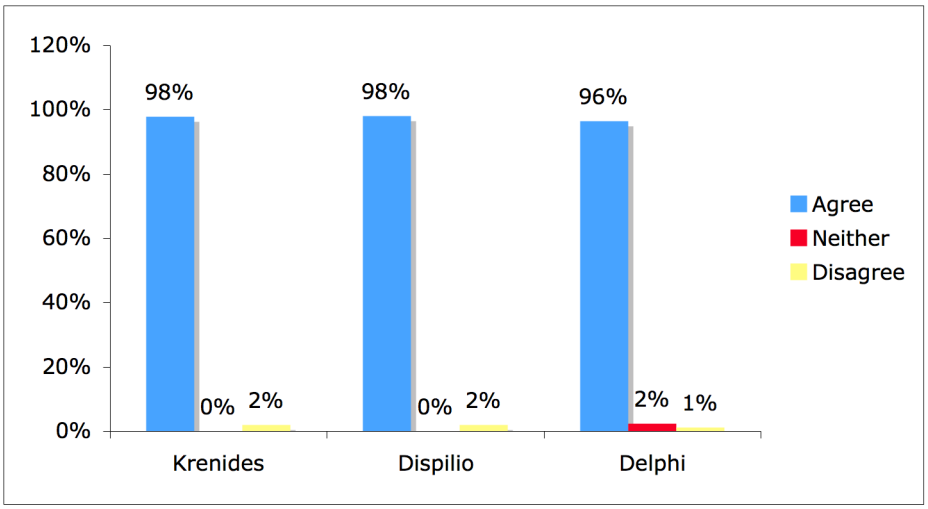

Figure 28 Opinion on significance of monuments of the past

Participants' opinions on the mission of archaeology, the place of ancient Greek civilisation in world history and the significance of the monuments of the past for Greek identity demonstrate hardly any variation from site to site. This could be attributed to the extreme way these statements were couched, although one might have expected that this would make participants more hesitant to agree with them to the high degree that they did. Alternatively, factors with universal effect such as the rise of national feelings in public education could account for them (for a series of public opinion surveys where similar beliefs are shown, see Kokkinidou 2005: 159, n. 172). As the university archaeologist in Dispilio noted, in the absence of a constructive relationship between archaeology and the public there is space for the development of an ideologised understanding of the past and of archaeology that nurtures nationalism.

In Dispilio the statement that 'ancient Greek civilisation is the oldest in the world and unsurpassable to any other ancient civilisation' correlated with educational level (figure 29, table 24). Fewer participants with compulsory education or less disagreed with the statement.

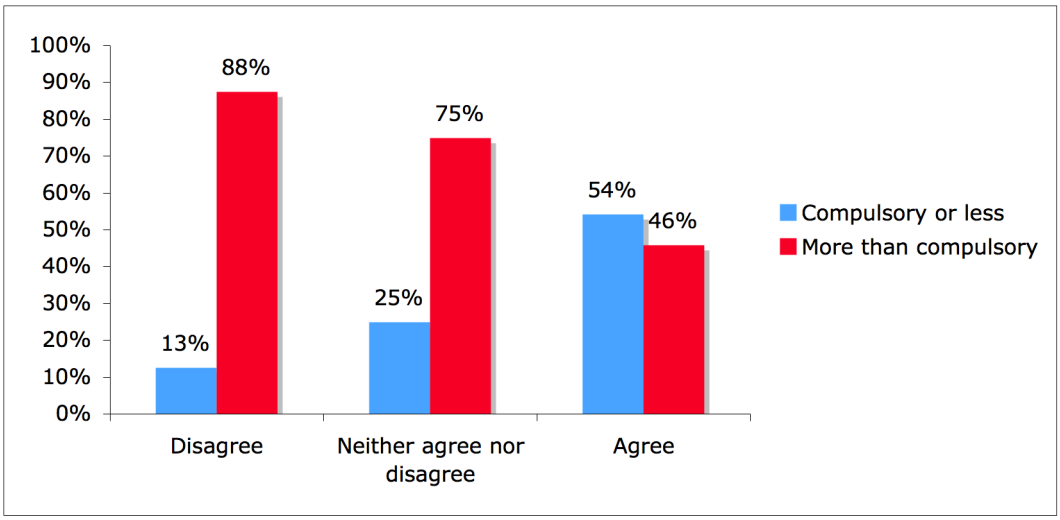

Figure 29 Opinion on ancient Greek civilisation by educational level in Dispilio (n= 100)

This conclusion reinforces the impression offered above at Krenides that participants with more education are less prone to engage with nationalist expressions in contrast to the ones who have compulsory education or less. This is understandable in consideration of how ethnocentric Greek public education has been shown to be in relevant research (Dassiou 2005; Fragoudaki and Dragona 1997; Kasvikis 2004; Kasvikis *et al.* 2007b; see 2.2.5).

In stark contrast with those answers discussed above, when participants were asked to grade how relevant they regarded archaeology to be in contemporary life, on a scale from 1 (not relevant at all) to 10 (extremely relevant), over half of participants in Delphi, half in Krenides and one fifth in Dispilio regarded it as irrelevant (figure 30, table 25). Only 15% in Krenides, 18% in Delphi and a significant 37% in Dispilio felt that archaeology was relevant to contemporary life.

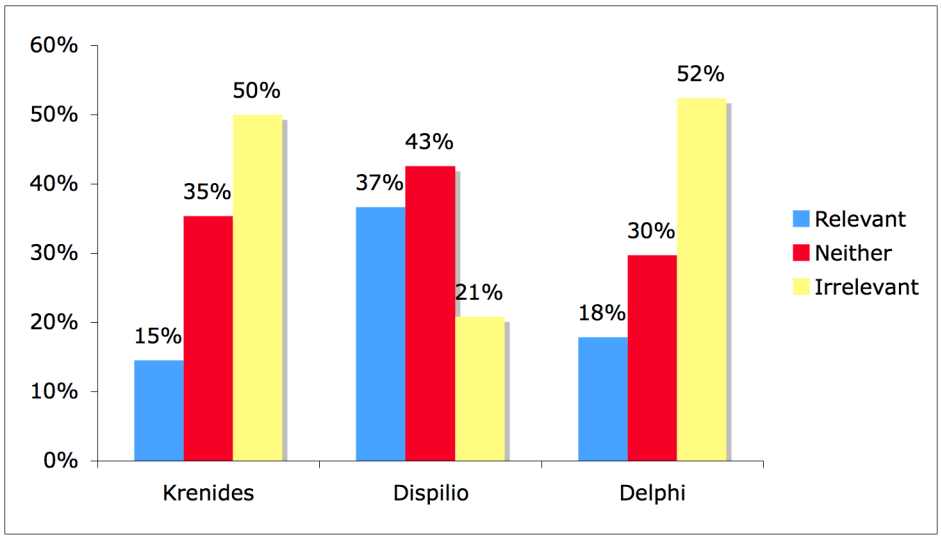

Figure 30 'On a scale of 1 (not relevant at all) to 10 (extremely relevant), do you regard archaeology as relevant to our lives today? Why?'

The percentages at Delphi and Krenides were similar. However there is a very clear difference in the answers from Dispilio. A possible explanatory factor of this could be the fact that Dispilio, the only prehistoric lake settlement open to visitors in Greece, attracts more domestic than international tourism. This means that the visitors Dispiliots come into contact with are Greeks and therefore they form a more positive impression about the relevance of archaeological heritage to Greeks as opposed to the other two sites. In Delphi and in Philippi, representative sites of glorious moments in ancient Greek history, participants kept contrasting the eagerness of international tourists to visit them, praising especially Japanese — as an overall category for visitors from the Far East — to the locals', and overall the Greeks', lack of will to visit archaeological sites. Food and cafeterias were mentioned as the most prevalent interests for the Greeks and lack of education and of 'being civilised' as the causes for this difference.

The contrast with surveys conducted in other parts of the world is striking. Pokotylo and Guppy found that four times more participants than in Krenides

and Delphi considered archaeology relevant and only 11% considered it irrelevant to contemporary life, with 28% in the middle of the scale, presenting thus the reverse picture from the one in the Greek case studies. Results in Dispilio were closer to those from this survey (see 1.10).

In Krenides, relevance correlated with employment condition and frequency of attendance to the Philippi Festival. Regarding employment, fewer employed participants found archaeology relevant (figure 31, table 26).

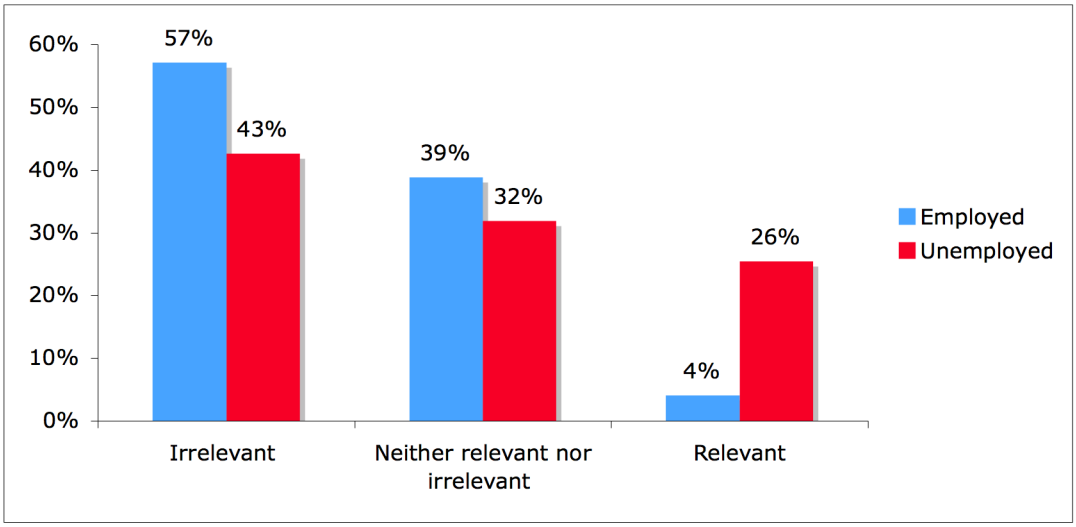

Figure 31 Relevance of archaeology by employment condition in Krenides (n= 96)

Considering that employment condition correlates with gender, age and educational level in Krenides (see 4.4), it seems that mainly female, older, less educated and professionally inactive participants believe that archaeology is relevant to contemporary life. In contrast, younger and more educated male participants believe that it is irrelevant.

Regarding attendance to the Philippi Festival, a little less than three quarters of participants who find archaeology relevant attend the Festival about or more than once a year (figure 32, table 27).

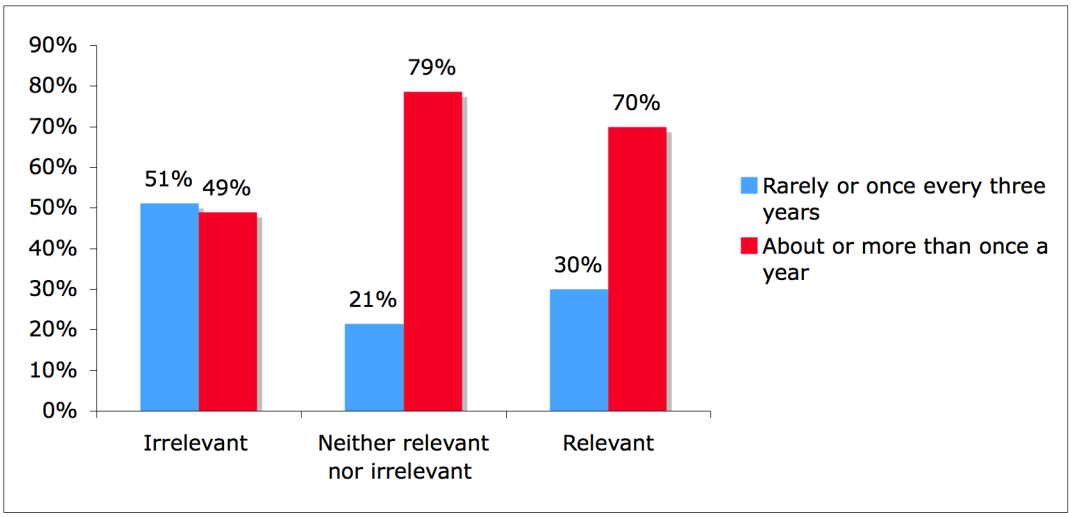

Figure 32 Relevance of archaeology by frequency of attendance to Philippi Festival (n= 85)

Considering that attendance to the Festival correlated with age (see 4.4) and frequency of visits to other archaeological sites/museums (see 5.1.3), it seems reasonable to conclude that younger participants and those who visit other archaeological sites and museums more often are more likely to find archaeology more relevant.

In Delphi, female participants found archaeology relevant (figure 33, table 28).

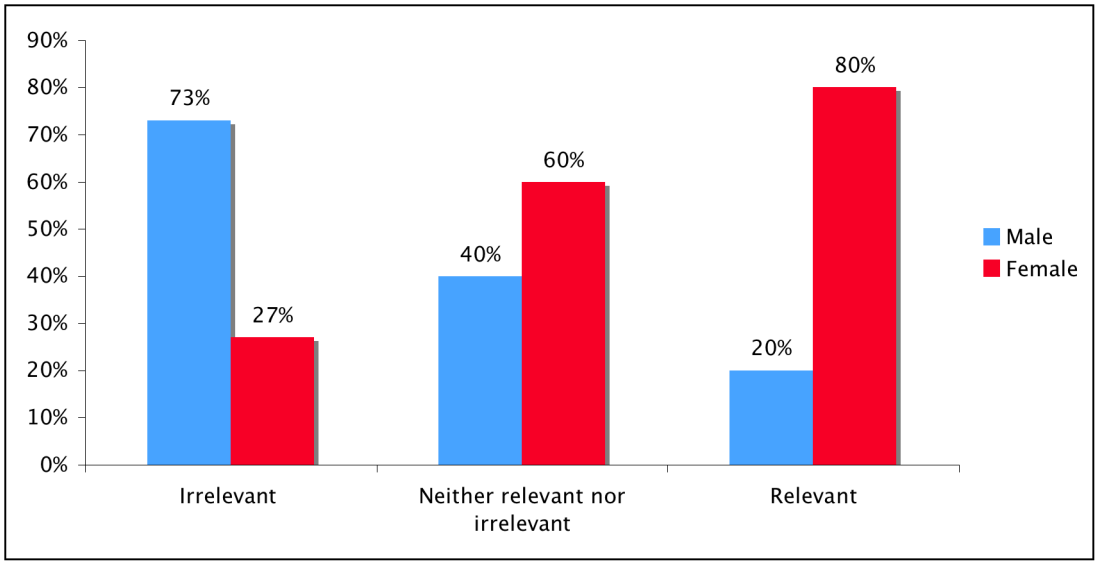

Figure 33 Relevance of archaeology by gender in Delphi (n= 84)

The result added the factor of gender to participants who believe that archaeology is relevant to contemporary life. Cross-tabulations between gender and other independent variables in Delphi showed that there is no other correlation that could be accountable for this result. Thus female participants in Delphi were more inclined to believe that archaeology is relevant to contemporary life than male ones. This result is in agreement with findings of surveys conducted in North America (see 1.10).

5.1.3 Practical Aspect of the Relationship

Participants throughout the survey demonstrated extremely high levels of awareness of the archaeological legislation provisions. Only 6% in Dispilio, 5% in Delphi and 2% in Krenides stated that they did not know the archaeological law. A couple of cases in Dispilio and in Delphi challenged the law, of which they were obviously aware, by stating that 'one should sell them [antiquities]' or that this is what happens in reality. In Krenides, a case of selective application appeared ('Surrender them only if they are valuable', without further elaboration of the term 'valuable') and an extremely well informed participant who knew that one could become a collector if he or she declared possession of antiquities. It becomes quite clear that there is wide awareness of what the law is in Greece, in contrast to the finds of surveys in other places in the world (see 1.10), and that any breach is not due to ignorance. Then what are breaches owing to? And does wide awareness of the law ensure its effectiveness as well?

Excavation workers claimed that locals were afraid of the Archaeological Service because of the potential loss of their property in case an important antiquity was found on it. Of course the premises of the law foresee a fair treatment of the individual's rights to property and provide for an

expropriation at a reasonable price. According to the explanation of the situation offered by a Head of Sector in the Ministry, the lack of financial resources has led to an unofficial freeze of expropriations. As a result, each case reaches the 18 months period that the law sets as the longest possible duration of a case, supposedly to protect citizens from unresolved cases. Because there is no money for the final settlement, each case starts over again. Archaeologists from every quarter admit how understandably painful the process is to anyone, in terms of time and money. Therefore, when people find something in their property they prefer to hide it or destroy it, if they can. The same participant considered this to be the opposite effect from the one the austerity of antiquities' protection is intended to have. 'People call us and cry', she said.

In contrast, not as many people knew what the responsible service for antiquities in Greece is (figure 34, table 29). Only 26% of participants in Krenides could name either the Ephorate or the Archaeological Service. Seventy per cent either did not know or resorted to naming the Ministry of Culture. Answers such as 'the police' and 'the National Tourist Organisation' were also offered. Percentages are similar in Dispilio.

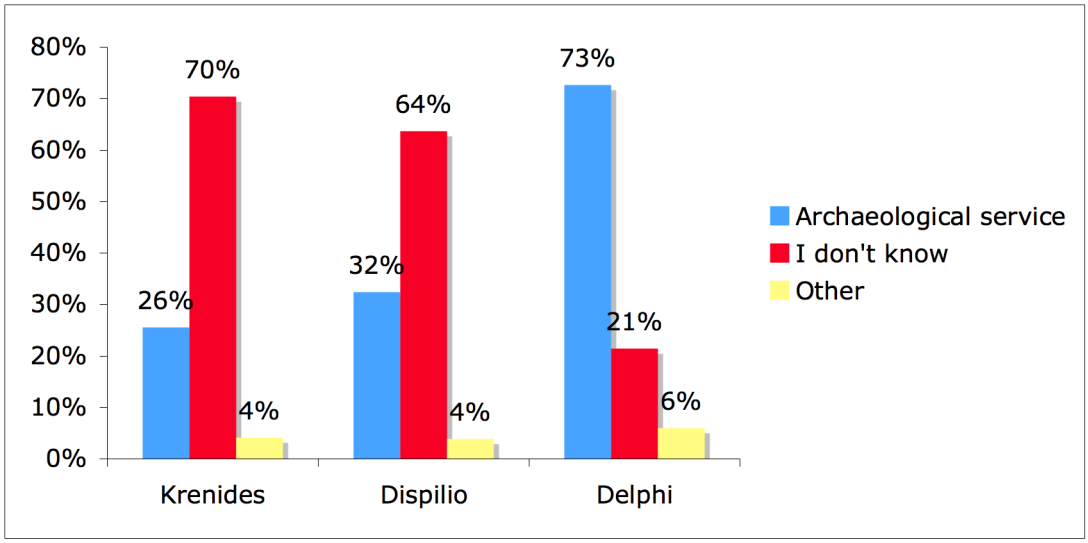

Figure 34 'Who is responsible for antiquities according to the law in Greece?'

In Delphi the case was the opposite; 73% could name the responsible service while only 21% did not know or named the Ministry instead. Finally 6% named the Central Archaeological Council, notorious for its decision-making regarding the area because it is a World Heritage Site.

These percentages indicate the low visibility of Ephorates even in areas where the Archaeological Service has been operating for decades, such as in Krenides. The difference between Delphi and the other two sites can be explained not only by the national importance of the site's antiquities that aroused early interest but also by the fact that the life of the local community was irreversibly influenced by the beginning of systematic archaeological investigation. Their relationship with the Ministry has been continuously under stress until recently (see 4.3.3). Therefore, archaeology occupies a greater place in the local every day public discourse than in the other two sites.

Another indication of the visibility of the Ephorates is the correlation between gender and the ability to name the responsible authority for archaeology in Krenides and in Dispilio.

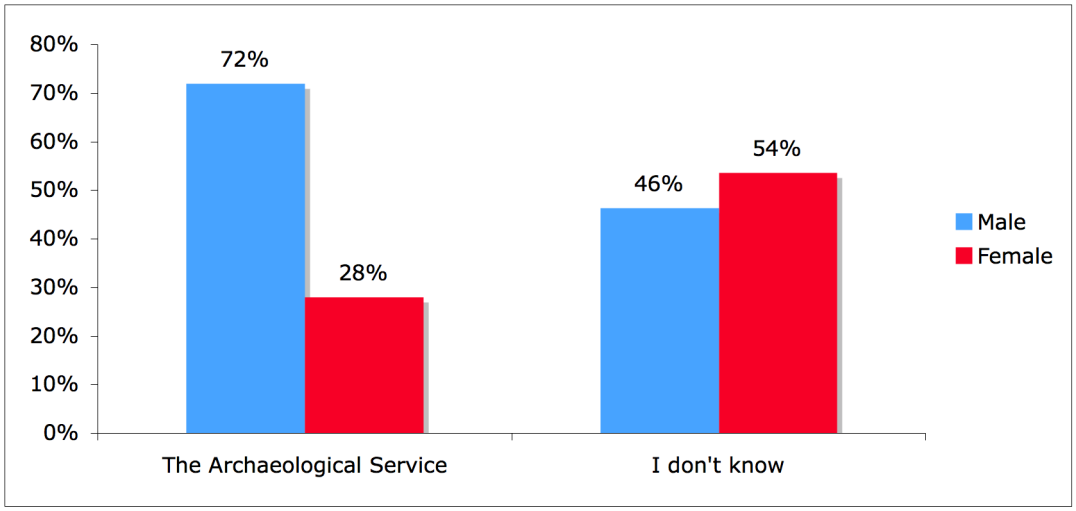

Figure 35 Knowledge of responsible service by gender in Krenides (n= 94)

Among participants who could name the responsible authority almost one quarter was female in both case studies (figure 35, table 30 and figure 36, table 31).

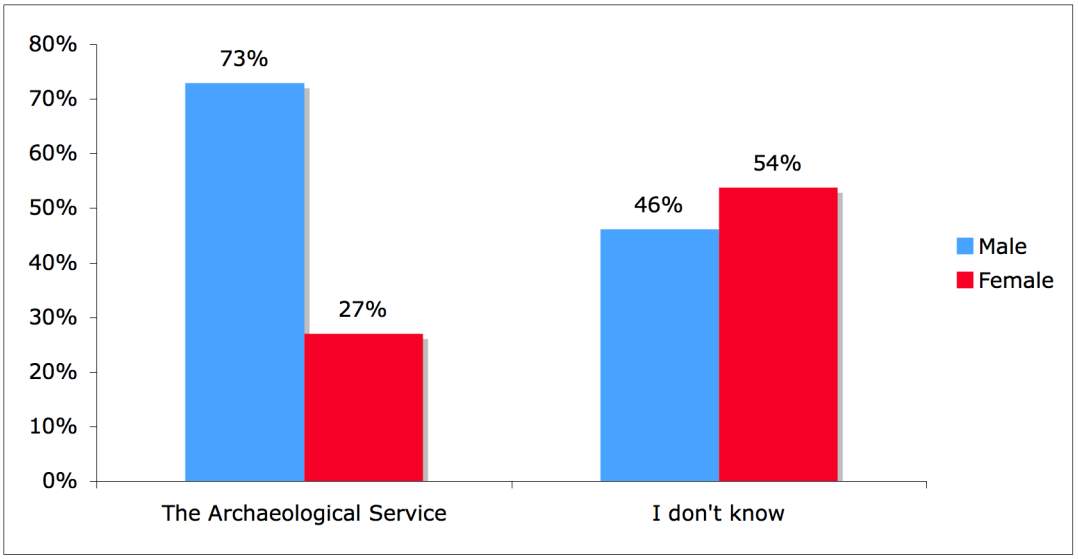

Figure 36 Knowledge of responsible service by gender in Dispilio (n= 98)

Male participants proved to have a better knowledge of which the responsible service is and could name it in contrast to female participants who could not answer accurately. This is probably best explained by the fact that males participate more in the local public discourse in the coffee shops and other public spaces they socialise in and also that males more frequently deal with building issues and are thus more familiar with public services relevant to construction permits, such as the Archaeological Service.

It is significant that there was no correlation in Delphi. It seems that either archaeology has become such a major issue in Delphi that it has 'invaded' women's social space as well or that women there are more active in the public arena (see also in relation to the differences in the local economies, 4.4 and 5.1.4).

Educational level also correlated with knowledge of the responsible service in Krenides and in Dispilio. Fewer participants who have graduated with compulsory education or less knew the service responsible for antiquities (figure 37, table 32).

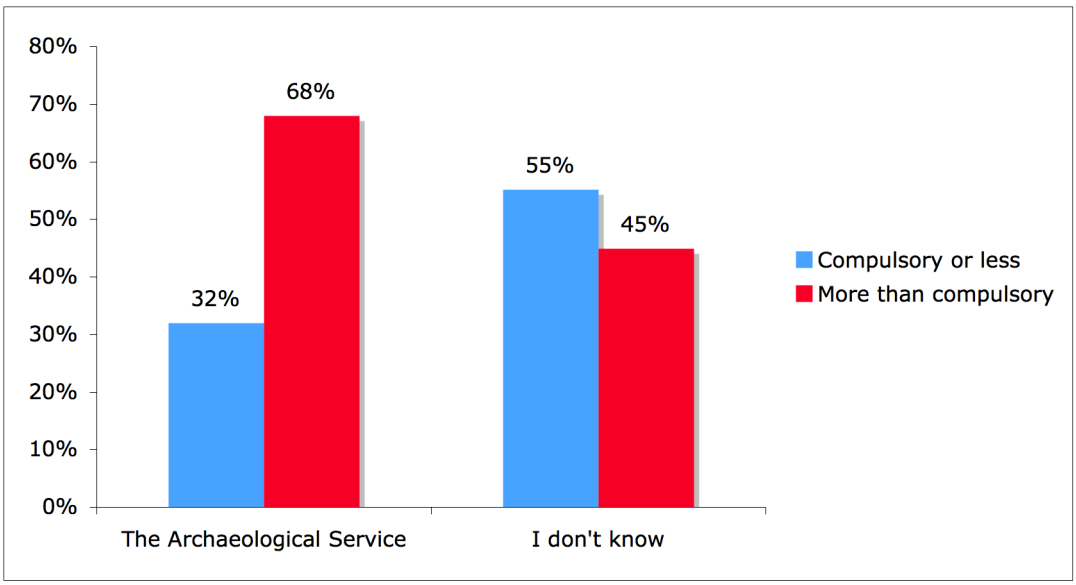

Figure 37 Knowledge of responsible service by educational level in Krenides (n= 94)

The percentage is similar in Dispilio (figure 38, table 33).

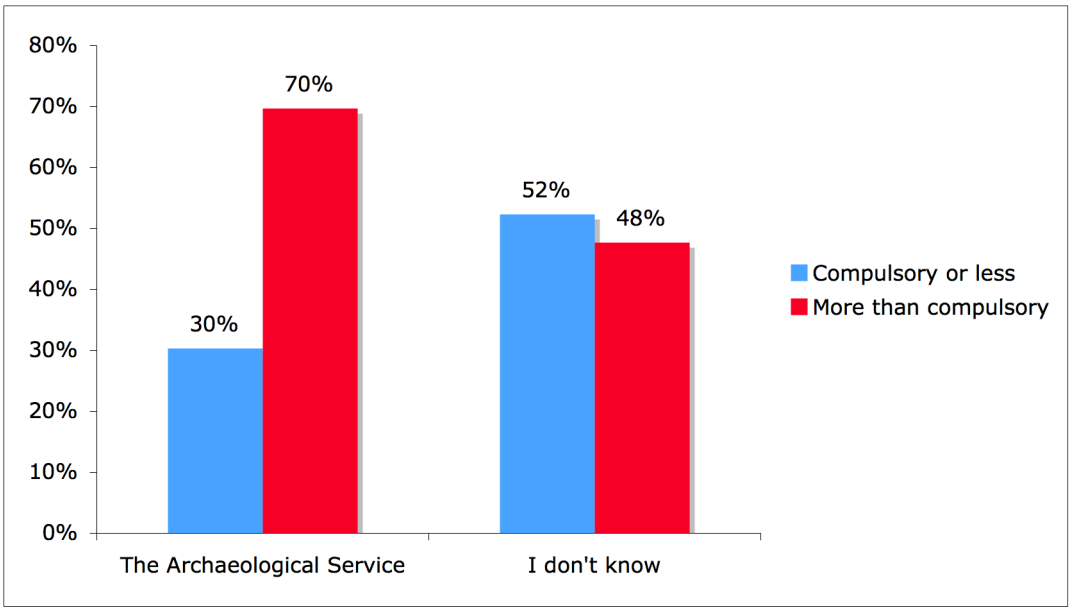

Figure 38 Knowledge of responsible service by educational level in Dispilio (n= 98)

Considering that educational level in both case studies correlates with age and employment condition (see 4.4), it seems that younger and employed participants are more likely to know which the responsible service is.

A question on their immediate experience of the Archaeological Service revealed that half of respondents in Delphi had contacted the Archaeological Service in the past, 39% in Krenides and only 8% in Dispilio (figure 39, table 34).

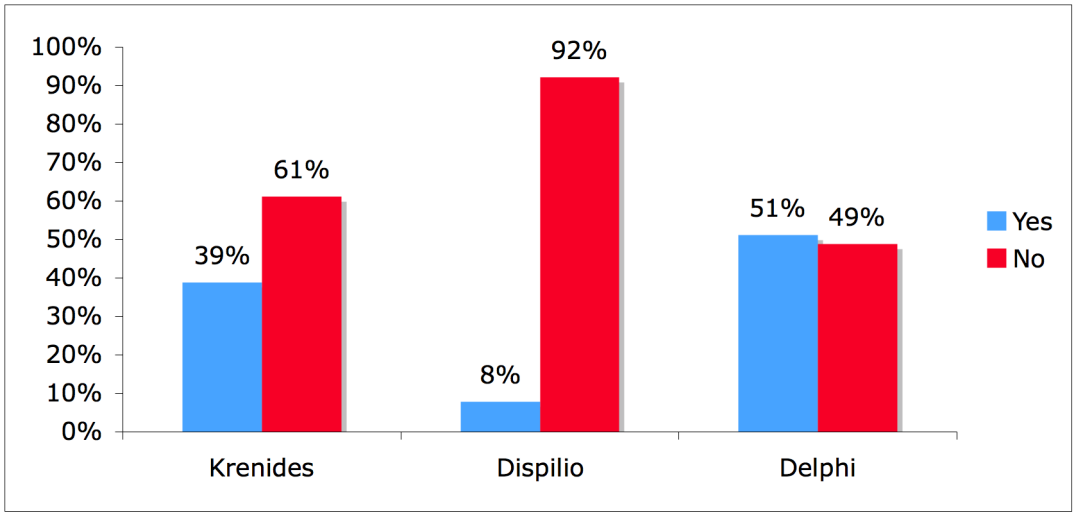

Figure 39 'Have you ever needed to contact the Archaeological Service?'

These differences can be explained by the fact that Delphi is a World Heritage Site and thus regulations and controls are stricter. In Dispilio, on the other hand, archaeology is a much more recent experience, as percentages confirmed.

In Delphi, out of participants who had not needed to contact the Archaeological Service, significantly less were unemployed (figure 40, table 35). This result is in accordance with those of the previous question and its correlation to education in Dispilio. There too it was younger, employed participants with more education who could name the responsible service.

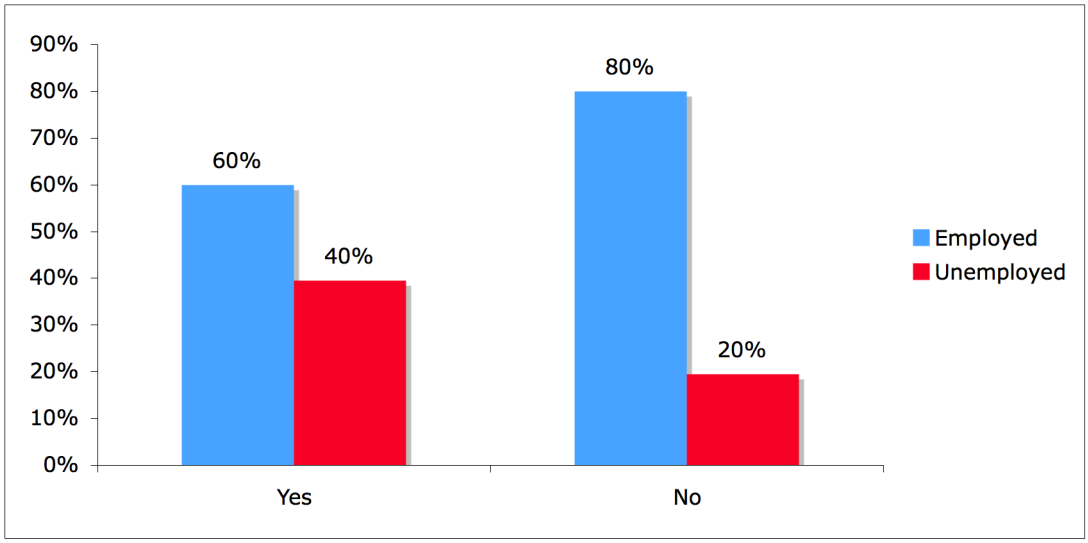

Figure 40 Personal experience of the Archaeological Service by employment condition in Delphi (n= 84)

Regarding the influence of state bureaucracy on the relationship between participants and archaeology, in Delphi almost three quarters of participants who had contacted the Archaeological Service in the past stated that they were influenced negatively (figure 41, table 36). The rest of them stated that they were not influenced. In Dispilio, participants were equally split between negative influence and no influence at all. In Krenides, more than half of respondents stated that their relationship was not influenced; here fewer answered that they were influenced negatively and very few were influenced positively.

The only site that clearly indicates the negative effect of bureaucracy in the management of archaeological resources on the relationship of the people with archaeology is Delphi. However it could be argued that because of the long duration of archaeology in the area, the case of Delphi becomes a projection of what may happen in the future at other sites or is already happening on similar archaeological sites with as long an archaeological history and of as great importance as the one of Delphi.

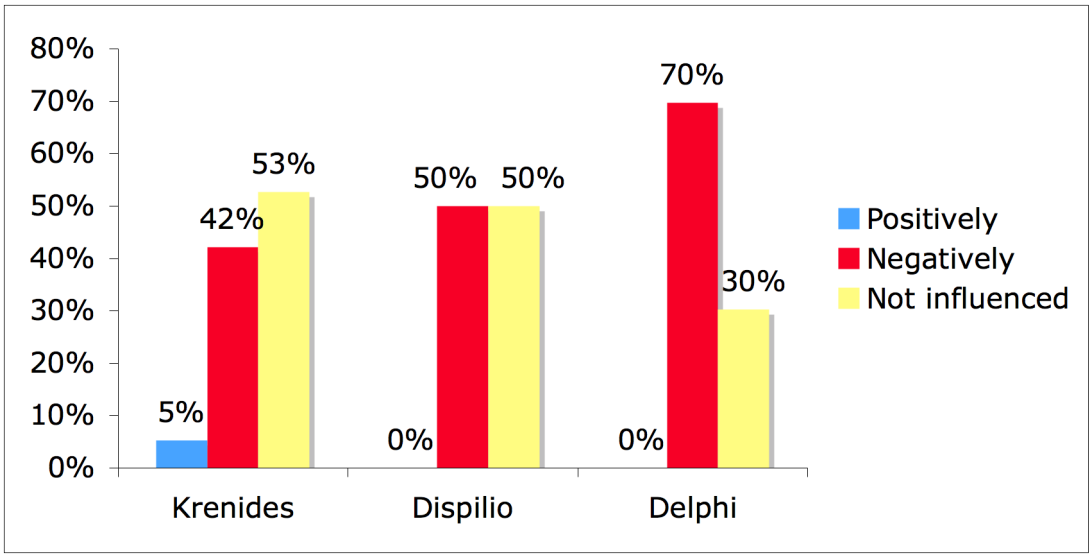

Figure 41 'If yes, do you feel that your relationship to archaeology in general is influenced by state bureaucracy and if so, is it influenced positively or negatively?'

On the other hand, to put things into perspective, Delphi is one of the 17 World Heritage Sites in Greece, where regulations are stricter than for any other sites and the Central Archaeological Council is directly responsible for all decision making. This effectively means that modern building activity in Delphi has been halted. In Krenides, although even the archaeologists admit that the fact that the town is built on the ancient cemetery facilitates their work and therefore their relationship with the local community, percentages are not re-assuring for the future. One could claim the same about Dispilio, especially if building activity intensifies.

In Delphi, answers to the previous question correlated with employment condition. More unemployed participants did not feel that their relationship was influenced by state bureaucracy and more employed participants stated that they were influenced negatively (figure 42, table 37).

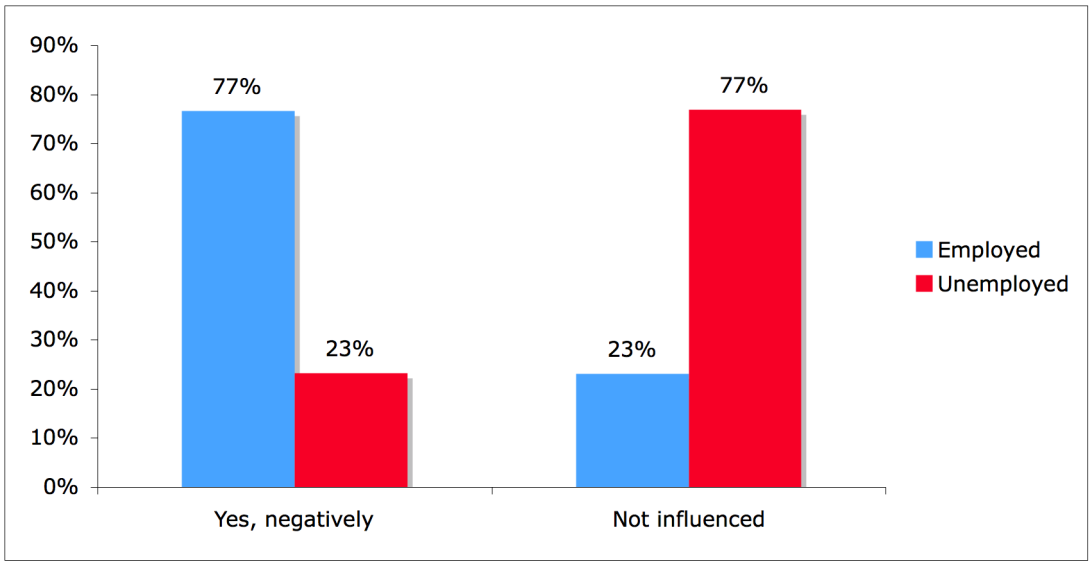

Figure 42 Impact of bureaucracy on relationship with archaeology by employment condition in Delphi (n= 43)

A great deal has been said in the community archaeology literature about the prior knowledge of local communities regarding the archaeological resources of their own area. Since the only case where this argument could be tested was in Dispilio, participants there were asked whether they knew of the site's existence before the excavation was initiated in 1992. For 13% of the cases the question was not applicable either because the participants were either born or had moved to the area after the excavation had started.

Almost half of participants knew of the site before 1992 while slightly fewer did not. These percentages demonstrate the contribution of archaeological research in the understanding of the area. Even the ones who said that they knew occasionally explained that they knew that there was something in the lake because of the random findings and the arrival of the first archaeologist in the 1930s. Nobody knew, though, what exactly this was until the excavation started and more specific conclusions could be drawn.

Knowledge of the archaeological site's existence correlated with gender. Fewer females knew about the site before the excavations (figure 43, table 38).

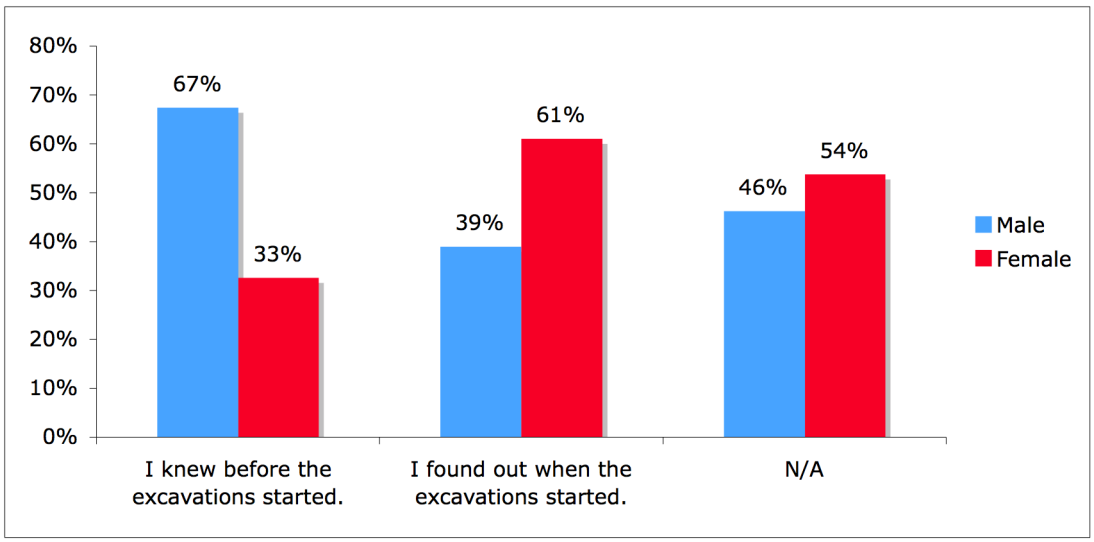

Figure 43 Knowledge of the site before the excavation started by gender in Dispilio (n= 97)

This correlation may be explained by the fact that, as most participants who knew beforehand stated, they found out about the site by swimming in the lake, fishing, from the teacher at school, or from narrations by older relatives. Swimming and fishing, maybe even school attendance, for older generations, could be seen as gender determined activities.

In order to explore the relationship of the local community with the archaeological site in more detail the questions 'when was the last time you visited the site?' and 'how often do you visit the site?' (in Delphi) were asked. A great degree of variation was noted from site to site (figure 44, table 39). In all three cases, the archaeological site is located in a recreation area, and in Philippi and Dispilio, they are next to playgrounds. In Philippi, there is also a newly refurbished coffee shop-restaurant while in Dispilio there is the church of the Ascension. Another factor is that the Philippi Festival takes place in the ancient theatre. In Delphi, the archaeological site is accessible through a well cared for

walkway, with a view over the gorge, which is popular for casual walking (plate 35). It is noteworthy that 41% in Delphi, 50% in Krenides and 72% of participants in Dispilio stated that they visit the sites from every day to once every six months.

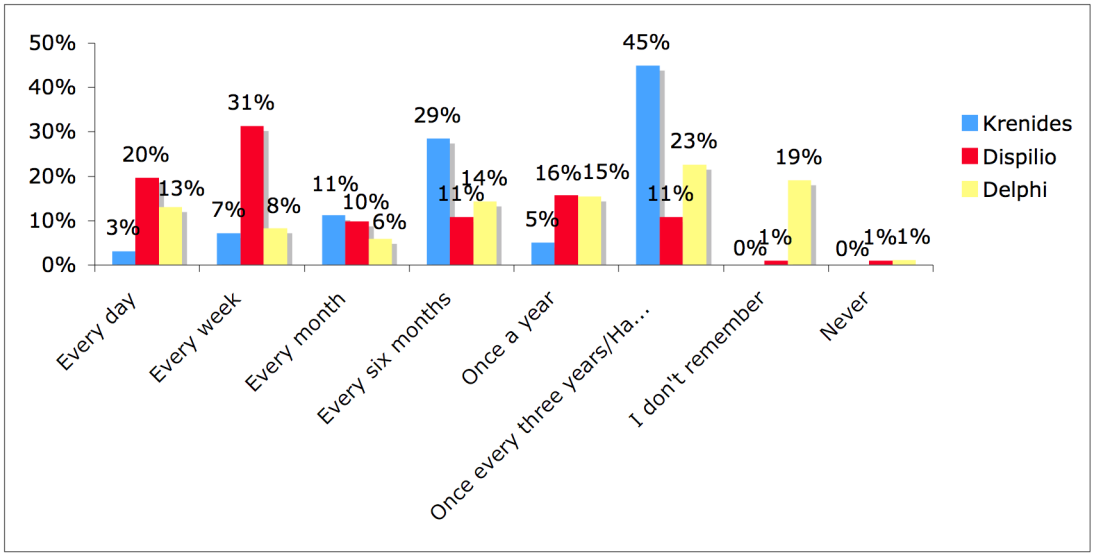

Figure 44 Frequency of visits to the local arch. site/museum

However, from formally organised archaeological sites such as Delphi and even Philippi, to Dispilio, which was established only recently and is run by the municipality, one can identify a series of differences. In Dispilio, the highest peak among frequent visitors is 'once every week' and among occasional visitors 'once every year'. In Krenides, this peak is 'once every six months' and 'once every three years'. In Delphi, the highest peak is among occasional visitors with 'once every three years' and there is another one among frequent visitors, though lower than the other two sites' frequent visitors, of 'every day'.

A pattern is clearly discernible in Dispilio where the locally-managed Ecomuseum enjoys frequent visits by the vast majority of participants (72%), while half of the local visitors in Krenides and more than half in Delphi (58%) are occasional to rare visitors of their local sites. In Delphi, the summer festival

has been moved to the other side of the settlement at the open-air theatre of the European Cultural Centre. Delphi residents who participated in the survey were highly critical of the new theatre, but that has not stopped them from claiming back the original, 'our own' as they call it. It seems that the nature of the archaeological site and consequently, the degree of exclusivity in its management and ownership by the Archaeological Service, affect to a great extent the frequency of visits paid by the local community.

Frequency of visits to the local archaeological site correlated with gender in Delphi. In particular, fewer female participants visit the site on a daily to weekly basis (figure 45, table 40). This result seems to be attributable to the fact that, as mentioned before, males spend a lot more of their time socialising in public spaces than females do. They are thus also a lot more likely to take a walk to the archaeological site for their daily exercise.

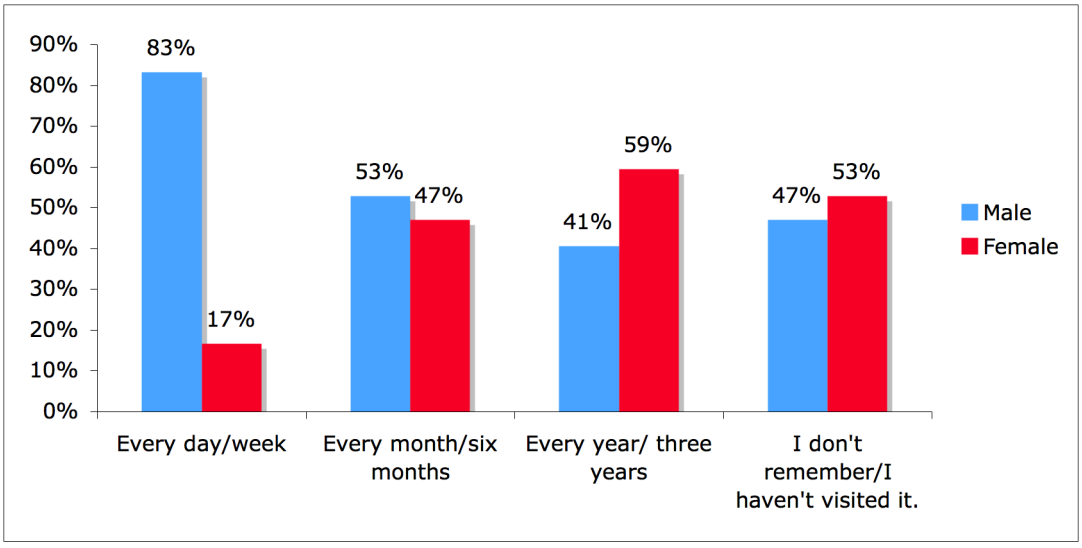

Figure 45 Frequency of visits to local arch. site/museum by gender in Delphi (n= 84)

The reasons for visiting the local archaeological site or museum varied as much as the frequency of visits (figure 46, table 41). In Krenides and in Dispilio, the two larger groups last visited to attend an event, such as the Philippi Festival (31%), a music concert organised by the youth club of Dispilio or the annual

Fair on Ascension Day (22%) and to walk (26% in Krenides and 31% in Dispilio). Other reasons in Krenides included school trips (13%) or with visitors (12%), curiosity/interest (8%) especially to look at the restoration work going on at the ancient theatre, to work (5%) and other activities such as 'to collect coins', 'to collect snails' or 'hunt' (1% each category).

In Dispilio, again 16% had gone because they were curious. Other reasons were to visit the archaeologists or the workers of the excavation (9%), after church (7%), with visitors (6%), to work (4%), with school (2%), to take wedding pictures (1%) or to go to one's boat (1%). One participant stated that she had never been to the archaeological site because she did not have time and she could see it from her balcony every day.

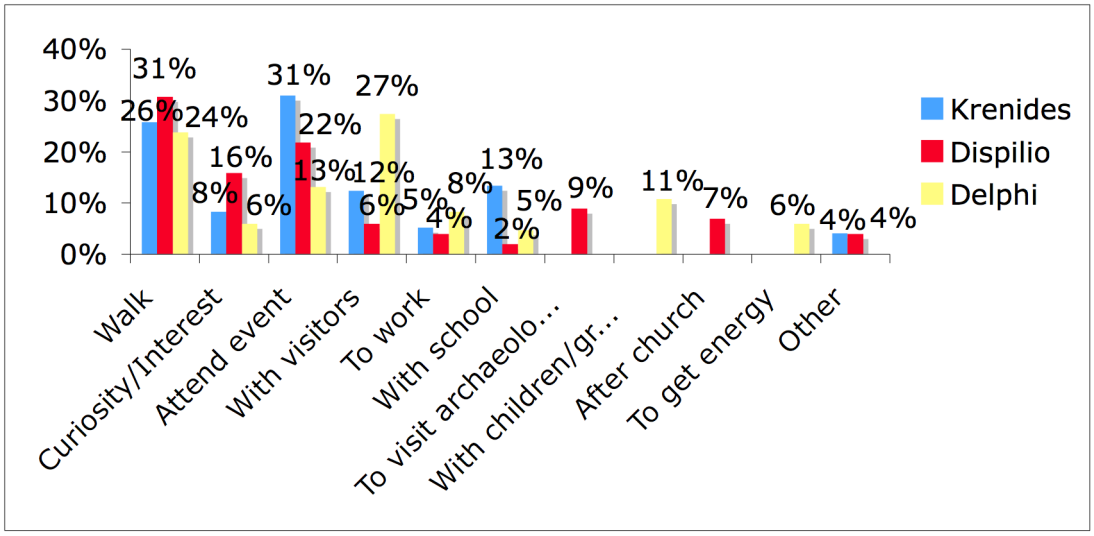

Figure 46 'What was the reason for your last visit?'

Finally, in Delphi the majority had last visited the site with visitors (27%), and the second biggest group had gone to walk (24%). The third biggest group had gone to attend an event (13%), while the fourth biggest had last visited the site with their children or grandchildren (11%). Other reasons to visit included to work (8%), out of curiosity or interest (6%) and with school (4%). A category

that was only mentioned in Delphi was to get energy, inspiration and health for the soul (6%).

Walks and events organised at the sites accounted for 53-57% of the visits in Krenides and Dispilio while only for 37% of visits in Delphi, where the opening of the renovated museum and the passing of the Olympic flame before the 2004 Athens Olympics were the last events organised, according to participants. However visits to show friends or relatives around, a more formal activity in agreement with the character of the site as managed by the Archaeological Service, account for 27% of the visits in Delphi while only for 6-12% in Krenides and Dispilio.

Regarding impressions from the last visit, they were overall positive with 79% of participants in Dispilio, 70% in Delphi and 58% in Krenides expressing themselves in a positive way (figure 47, table 42).

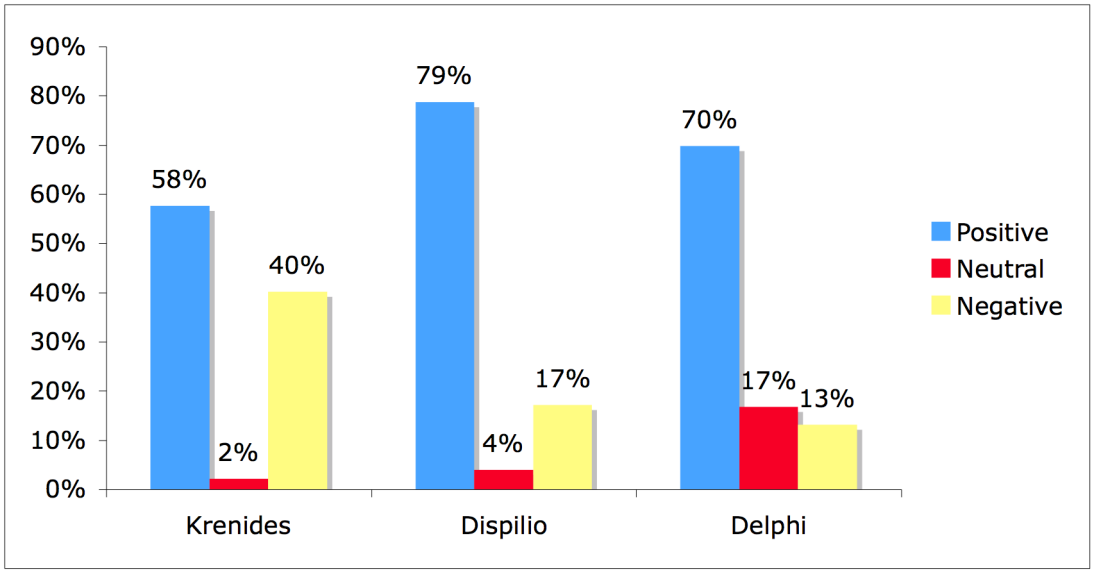

Figure 47 'What impression did you get from your last visit?'

It is important to note that answers to this question from Dispilio include impressions of both the Ecomuseum and the excavation site according to where

participants had been last. Similarly, participants from Krenides referred to either the whole extent of the archaeological site or to the ancient theatre alone. In Delphi, participants referred to either the museum or the site or both. Therefore answers to this question can only be taken as a rough estimate of participants' satisfaction with the different resources.

Still some inferences can be made from the differences between the sites. For example, the Ecomuseum in Dispilio resembles more the form of a park than that of a formal archaeological site because of the extensive use of grass. In Philippi, very limited work has taken place on the site for the last twenty years. Only the ancient theatre has been the focus of a major conservation and anastylosis project. However, participants' overall impressions are clearly affected by the apparent abandonment and neglect that the rest of the site suffers from, as demonstrated by scattered building material and marble blocks and the lack of legibility and interpretation of the remains. In Delphi, participants are overall satisfied with the condition of the resource. The impression created by the museum's reopening after years of renovation may still be relatively raw.

The impression the local site had made on participants during their last visit correlated with their age in Krenides. The impression of participants aged from 65 years old and older was positive (figure 48, table 43). More than half of participants with a negative impression were aged between 18 and 39. This result may be attributable to older participants being less critical and more positive towards archaeology. One should not fail to notice that organised archaeological sites and museums have been a recent addition to Greece's social life especially in non-Classical, non-prominent locations. The critical stance of younger participants is also parallel to similar findings of Prince and Schadla-Hall discussed above (see 1.10).

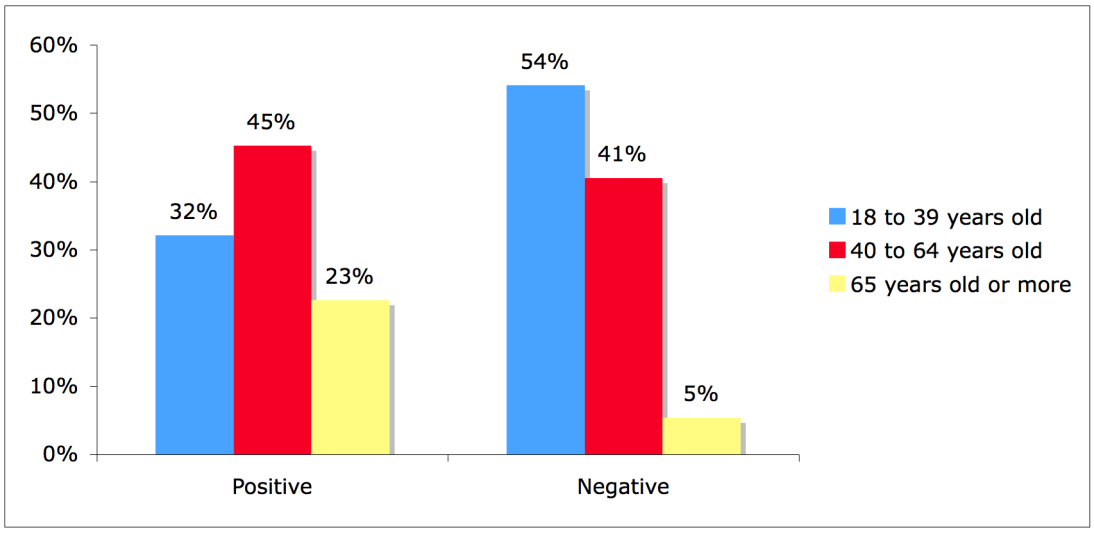

Figure 48 Impression from last visit by age in Krenides (n= 90)

In Dispilio, more participants who knew of 'Natura 2000' had a negative impression of the archaeological site (figure 49, table 44). This conclusion confirms the pattern of participants who engage more with local affairs, being more critical and even strict about archaeology than people with no interest in environmental and other public issues.

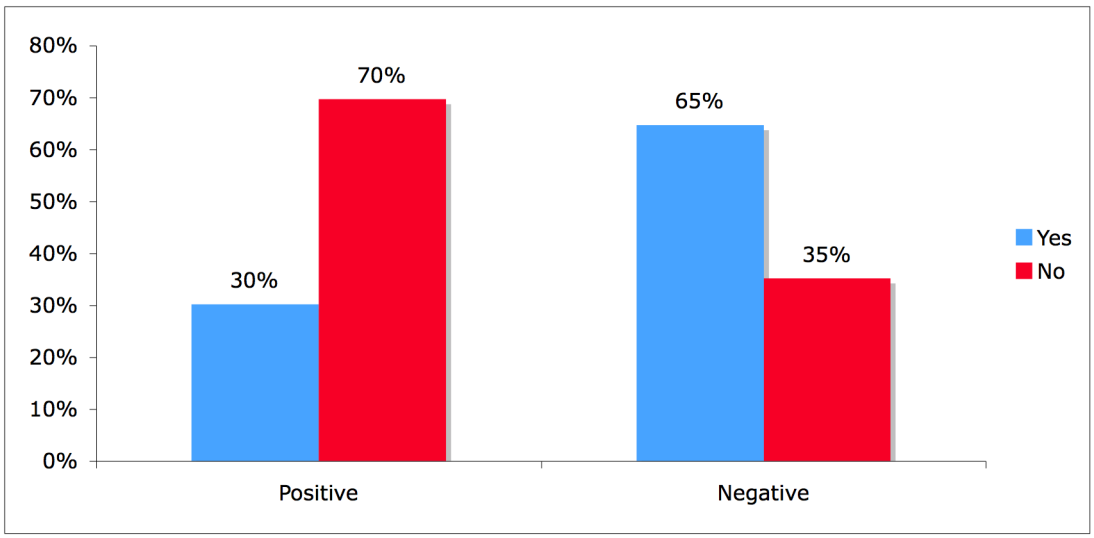

Figure 49 Impression from last visit by knowledge of 'Natura 2000' (n= 93)

Almost one fifth of participants in Krenides, 15% in Dispilio and only 1% in Delphi had never visited another archaeological site or museum (figure 50, table 45). These percentages are noteworthy and the difference between them indicates similarities and differences in the nature of the three communities (see 4.4 and 5.1.4).

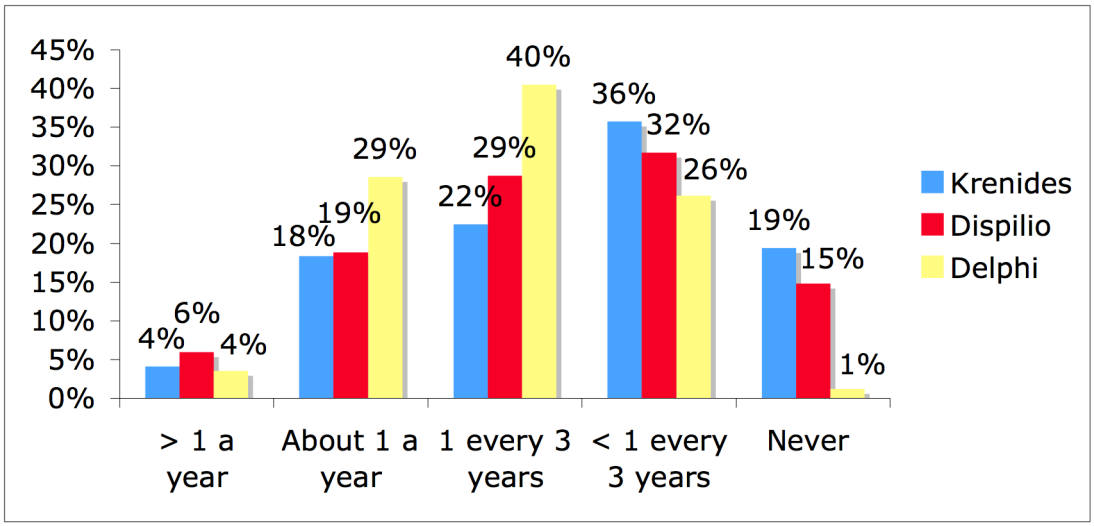

Figure 50 'Have you ever visited other arch. sites/museums? If yes, how often do you visit another archaeological site/museum in general?'

The rest of the percentages also demonstrated this: in the two cases in northern Greece the majority falls under the category of rare visitors (less than once in three years). Then come occasional visitors (once every three years) and regular visitors (more or less once a year). In the case of Delphi, the majority falls in the occasional visitors category, then come regular visitors and third come rare visitors. These percentages describe the cultural habits of the local communities and demonstrate that Delphi has embraced a more urban lifestyle, including occasional vacation, with which visits to the archaeological heritage of the rest of the country are combined, for a series of reasons such as geography and earlier urbanisation of the local economy (see 5.1.4). The largest group in Merriman's survey visited museums once or twice a year while the second largest group visited three of more times a year, demonstrating thus an even greater engagement with museums than in Delphi (see 1.10).

This question correlated with educational level in Krenides. More participants with compulsory education or less had never visited another archaeological site or museum (figure 51, table 46). More participants with more than compulsory education visited other sites and museums once every three years and about once a year. The difference between the two groups demonstrates the direct effect of educational level to the visiting habits of participants. It is worth noting that Merriman's overall profile of the museum visitor, based on previous studies, attributed an educational level extending beyond minimum school-leaving age or still being in part or full-time education (see 1.10).

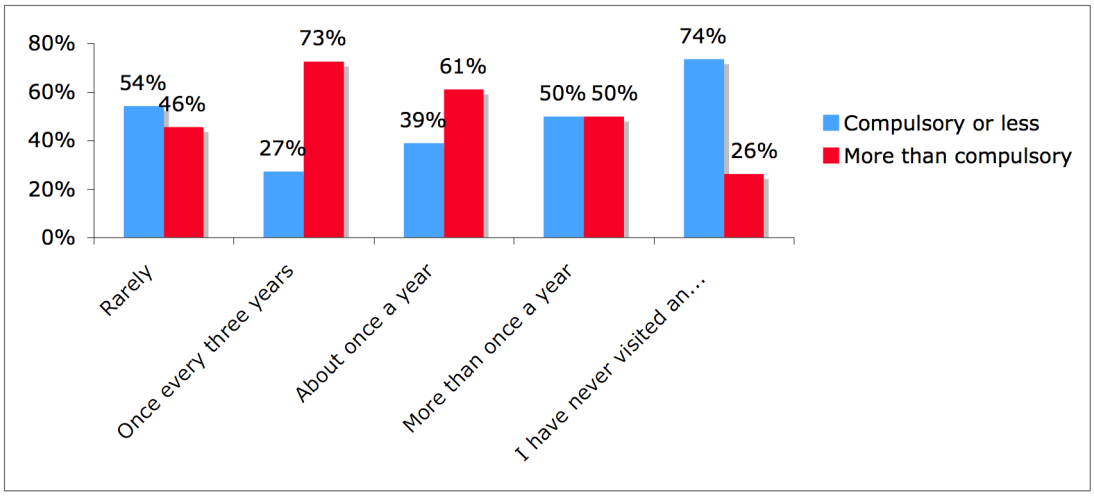

Figure 51 Frequency of visits to other archaeological sites or museums by educational level in Krenides (n= 98)

Also more participants who visited other archaeological sites or museums about or more than once a year attended the Philippi Festival with the same frequency, demonstrating a direct correlation between the two activities (figure 52, table 47).

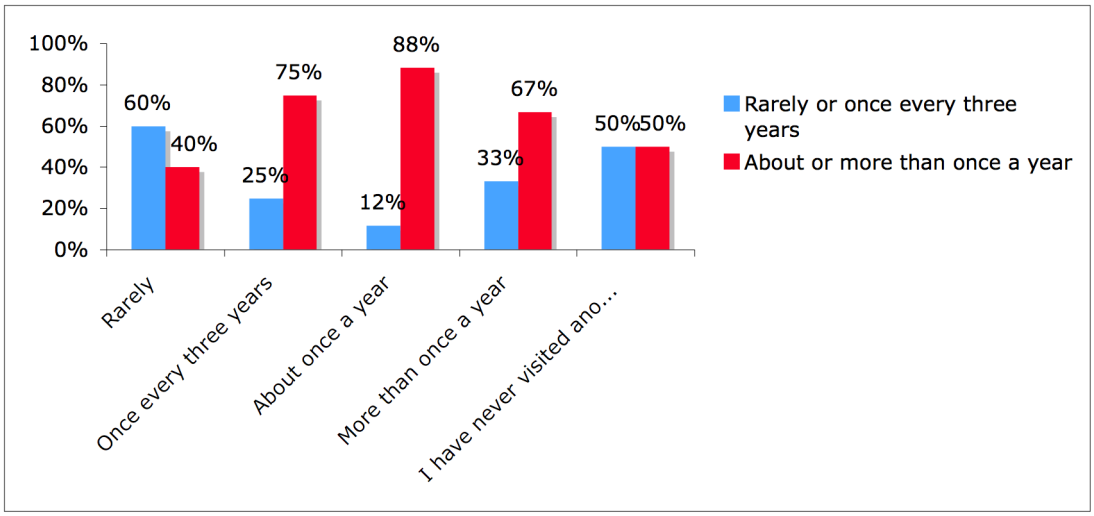

Figure 52 Frequency of visits to other archaeological sites or museums by frequency of attendance to the Philippi Festival in Krenides (n= 86)

In Dispilio, more male participants visited other archaeological sites or museums rarely or had never visited another one before (figure 53, table 48). More females visited another archaeological site or museum once every three years and about once a year. This confirms previous results that indicated that female participants seem to have a more positive stance towards archaeology and it informs understanding of how gender influences perceptions and the relationship to archaeology.

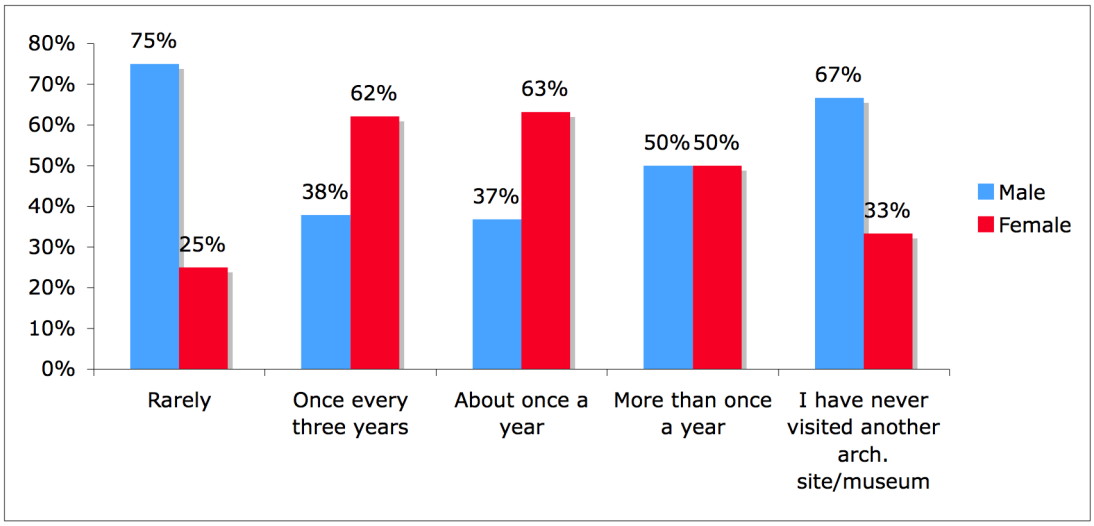

Figure 53 Frequency of visits to other archaeological sites or museums by gender in Dispilio (n= 101)

Again in Dispilio, more participants who knew of 'Natura 2000' visited other archaeological sites or museums more than once a year (figure 54, table 49), demonstrating again a direct correlation between environmental and cultural interests of participants, as has been noted in other surveys (see 1.10).

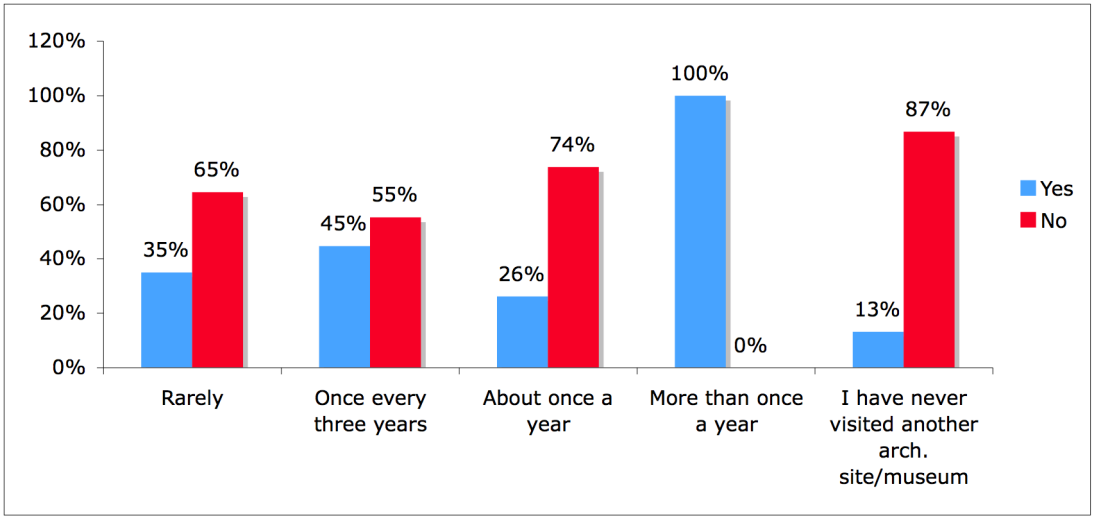

Figure 54 Frequency of visits to other archaeological sites or museums by knowledge of 'Natura 2000' in Dispilio (n= 100)

5.1.4 Economic Impact of Archaeology

Interviews with state and university archaeologists who work in Philippi and Dispilio demonstrated that the economic impact of archaeology on local communities takes the form of a range of activities that can generate income: the employment of local workforce in ongoing excavations and of guarding staff in sites open to visitors; the development of services provided for excavation teams and for visitors. The majority of participants mentioned the economic impact of archaeology as an important factor in the development of a good relationship between archaeology and local communities.

Out of the activities mentioned, the representatives of the local administrations particularly emphasised visitor services as the one they considered to be the most financially reciprocal. Some of the archaeologists mentioned with irony

the motto that 'tourism is Greece's heavy industry', because it was originally known as 'culture is Greece's heavy industry'.[11] It is important to see how this materialises in the three case studies.

Regarding the local economies of the three communities and according to the 1991 and 2001 national censuses, one can see that in Delphi the heavily dominant tertiary sector (for an explanation of the sectors see 3.2.2) has shrunk slightly in relation to the primary and secondary sectors, and that unemployment in the area is rising. In Krenides, the tertiary sector is rising at a rate of 11% while the secondary and primary sectors are shrinking at 11% and 9% respectively. Unemployment is also rising by 9%. Finally in Dispilio, the tertiary and the primary sectors are slightly rising while the secondary one is falling sharply by 17%. Unemployment has also risen by 8%.

	NACE A-B		NACE C-F		NACE G-Q		Unemployed		Did not state	
	1991	2001	1991	2001	1991	2001	1991	2001	1991	2001
Delphi	3%	7%	8%	9%	74%	70%	9%	14%	6%	0%
Krenides	21%	12%	37%	26%	31%	42%	8%	17%	3%	3%
Dispilio	8%	11%	40%	23%	40%	42%	11%	19%	1%	5%

Table 2 Employment by sector in the three case studies according to 1991 and 2001 national censuses (Hellenic Statistical Authority 2011a)

One can see how the case of Krenides is similar to that of Dispilio with the exception of a slight increase in the primary sector in Dispilio. Delphi is strikingly different to the other two cases: its local economy gives the impression that it is following the opposite direction after having reached saturation. It is possible then to confirm the linear pattern discussed in terms of the associations of archaeology and other aspects of the relationship between archaeology and these communities (see 5.1.2 and 5.1.3): Delphi can be

[11] It is commonly attributed to the former Minster of Culture, Melina Merkouri, but no direct reference can be found.

regarded as leading the process by developing an economy based almost entirely on the services sector, while Krenides and Dispilio can be seen as moving towards this kind of local economy. The increase in unemployment is a common thread throughout the cases.

Further scrutiny of the employment of the local workforce as a contribution to the local economy revealed its advantages and disadvantages. As all the archaeologists admitted, it always depends on funds available annually for archaeological projects and it usually entails the employment of a small number of workmen for a limited time period, with the prospect of re-employment in the following year, or during the next project undertaken in the area by the Archaeological Service. The Association of Greek Archaeologists promotes the execution of archaeological works under the self-supervision of the Archaeological Service (*autepistasia*), as opposed to private contracting, as a means that not only guarantees full control by the Service but also ensures employment opportunities for local communities (Athanasoulis 2007: 26-9). It is therefore a contribution with limited and insecure economic input in terms of level of income, number of employees and duration. Additionally, it depends on the continuation of self-supervision in the management of archaeological projects.

However, considering the rise in unemployment in the Greek periphery, also attested to the census, even a brief and low-paying employment opportunity means important relief, especially for males close to retirement age, who are used to manual labour and need to collect social insurance stamps to receive pensions. Additionally, recruitment for archaeological work often considers social criteria, thus benefiting more vulnerable members of the local community. Similar relief to a broader range of members of the local

community is offered by the seasonal employment of staff for the operation of archaeological sites under eight month contracts.

A more widely diffused aspect of the economic impact of research teams specifically is derived from the range of services provided for the duration of their stay in the area: accommodation, catering, entertainment, and other subsistence expenses also benefit the local market and economy. According to the archaeologists, in Krenides, although the university team is not as large as it was in the past, until recently it had been a small but steady source of income for local businesses. The team of the French School makes a more significant contribution after having initiated a new period of research on the site of Dikili Tash. The School rents houses in Krenides and for a couple of months every year adds to the local economy as well. The development of new premises at the site of Dikili Tash ensures a continuing interest in the area. The archaeological team in Dispilio provides a steady clientele for the village's recently developed accommodation businesses during the summer, which is the low tourist season for the area, as Kastoria is more popular as a winter destination. The team also employs a catering business since, apart from accommodation, it also offers daily meals to its members. It is worth noting that university and foreign schools' projects provide more secure economic opportunities because they tend to last for many years even though their economic contribution only lasts for one to two months annually.

The representatives of the local administrations considered the opportunity to develop visitor services around an archaeological site as the most important economic impact of archaeology. The increase in programme contracts between local administrations and the Ministry of Culture and Tourism before the flow of funding was generally interrupted recently, demonstrated this perception. Overall, and considering the unemployment issues mentioned above, cultural

tourism has emerged as the potential alternative to other economic activities that are in decline, such as farming around Krenides and the fur industry in Dispilio (table 2).

Still, despite the potential value and use of cultural tourism, there are noted differences in the ways the two local administrations have perceived and referred to it, and its significance in terms of a good relationship with the local community. In Krenides, drawing economic benefits from the flow of cultural tourists to the archaeological site has been an aim of the local administration for many years now. There is a developing strategy for the implementation of appropriate measures and some of the actions required have been completed while others are underway (e.g. hosting the EEC of the prefecture, the founding of HERAC, and investing in a management plan for the area's cultural resources to promote the archaeological site's nomination to the World Heritage List. For further details see 4.1.1). Some of the initiatives taken have already resulted in a more intensive collaboration with the Archaeological Service and a better understanding between the two bodies. The representative of the local administration believed that the local community will appreciate the value of the archaeological site when they feel free to approach it and develop their own activity around it, mainly of an economic nature.

In Dispilio, the interview with the representative of the local administration demonstrated that the contribution of archaeology towards local development was not fully appreciated; at least not to the degree that the Community of Dispilio, the previous form of local administration, had perceived it, during the early years of the excavation, as interviews with two representatives of former local administrations showed. Some locals attributed this to a perceived indifference towards the local community of Dispilio by some local politicians. They also blamed the lack of private initiative on the local administration's lack

of vision for the area. It is true that, while Krenides was the seat of the local administration until recently, Dispilio was given the title of the historic seat of the municipality while its administrative centre was moved to another settlement (see 4.2.1). Overall, the local community has not embraced the potential of cultural tourism in spite of what the locals themselves referred to as their 'expectations of archaeology'.

In contrast to both of the cases above, in Delphi the local community and its administration have already faced the consequences of a local economy based almost exclusively on visitor services and are trying to cope with them. Conversations with the locals revealed that after half a century's history in cultural tourism, a place in UNESCO's World Heritage List and the successful operation of the European Cultural Centre, the Delphiots' challenge is to manage the consequences. That is, the decline of the younger population caused by the lack of professional opportunities in sectors other than the tourist industry, the loss of social cohesion caused by the social constraints of a profit-led economic life, the imbalance in the ratio between visitors and locals, and the environmental impact of rising visitor numbers.

Additionally, the tightly regulated construction activity does not allow people to build new houses and expand their businesses. High roofs mask illegal additions and living in Delphi becomes impossible, unless one is still willing to live in the mud brick houses of the nineteenth century, a case similar to the one Herzfeld described regarding the Old Town of Rethymnon (1991, see 2.2.7). As a result, the locals appreciate the archaeological resource, and gratefully acknowledge that it secures their livelihood, but resent the Archaeological Service that has imposed a series of regulations in order to protect the traditional character of their settlement. As in the case of Rethymnon (see above) and of Anafiotika, the neighbourhood of illegal houses built at the foot

of the Acropolis (Caftanzoglou 2001, see 2.2.7), the Archaeological Service does not consider residence as a means of sustainable protection and conservation but as a threat to the resource. It takes a scenographic approach, where all current uses of a site have to be removed, for offices and small museums to be established, and for protection to be achieved through, what could be termed, a process of desertification.

The representative of the Association of Greek Archaeologists acknowledged the importance of the economic aspect of archaeology, which he recognised as increasingly significant though not of primary importance. The gulf between this view and the government's appreciation of archaeology and culture was demonstrated by the merger of the Ministries of Culture and Tourism in October 2009 (see 2.1.5).

Although, during the interviews, state archaeologists seemed to have realised that governments take a different approach to cultural heritage than the Archaeological Service and despite the acute economic problems of the latter, they have not yet used the economic relevance of archaeology in relation to tourism to lever more funds. The employment of tourism as a pressure lever for funding archaeological works was mentioned haphazardly. The interview with the representative of the Association of Greek Archaeologists revealed that he perceived tourism as a competitive force that undermined the value of archaeology rather than a potential ally with which archaeologists should and could co-operate, with the necessary compromises to potentially benefit archaeology.

It seems that the distinction between the 'profane' nature of money and development as opposed to the sacred-symbolic value of archaeological heritage is deeply rooted in archaeological perceptions and has immense

ramifications for archaeological resource management reality (see Hamilakis 2007 regarding this distinction). The only case where the argument of tourism, combined with national politics, was used to ensure the flow of huge sums of money, was the New Acropolis Museum — and these reflected back to the whole of the Parthenon Marbles issue. The same distinction was also reflected in public perceptions: participants prioritised social and cultural values as the highest for archaeology while, regarding its benefits, tourism came first (see below 5.2).

The representative of the Association of Greek Archaeologists referred to the economic benefits of archaeology to local communities as the 'huge economic potential' derived from the opening of an archaeological site to the public without any mention of the issues that emerge from this potential. The only participants who referred specifically to achieving economic benefits were the university archaeologist in Dispilio, a member of the team and a representative of a former local administration, thus showing a further elaboration of the issue. In Krenides, although the representatives of the local administration demonstrated an awareness of what the current issues are and measures to face them are underway, they seemed to have an idea but not an informed, broader perspective and a long-term vision about the area.

5.1.5 Social and Cultural Impact of Archaeology

In order to promote a relationship between the public and their archaeology accessibility to information on the archaeological research conducted is critical. In the cases of Krenides and Delphi, the majority of participants felt that this information was not available to them (figure 55, table 50), whereas the majority of participants in Dispilio felt that information was accessible. There was also a

group of participants who indicated that they felt that information was available as long as they were interested enough to go and ask the archaeologists. Seventeen per cent felt this way in Dispilio and 8% in Krenides.

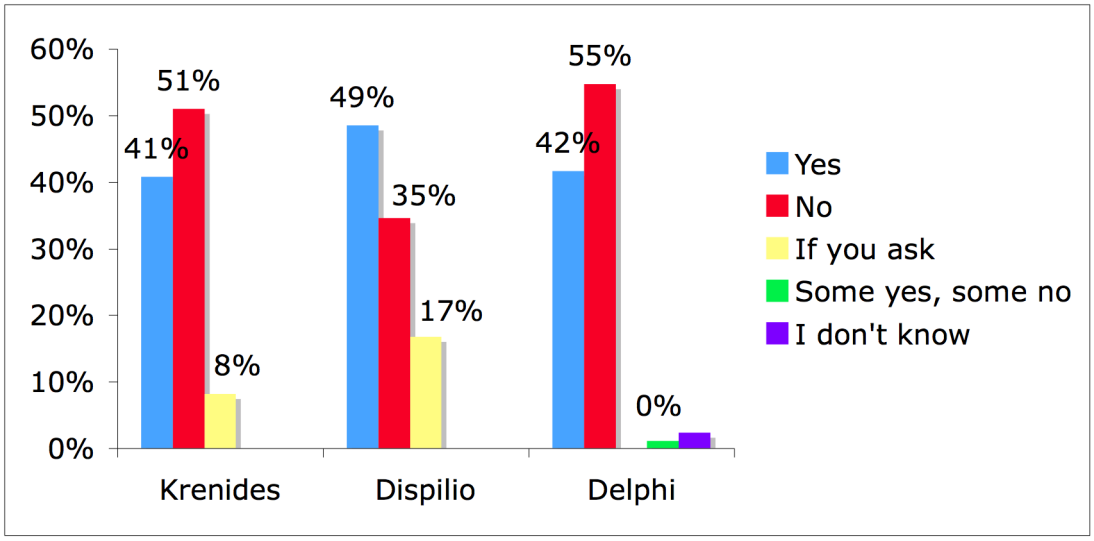

Figure 55 'Do you feel that information on the archaeological research conducted in the area is at your disposal?'

The difference between Dispilio and the two other sites demonstrates the effect of the more outgoing approach the university team adopted there, in contrast to the more common approach of the Archaeological Service and the university team in Delphi and in Krenides. This is also indicated by the higher percentage of the 'if you ask' category, which, in a sense, revealed a more mature option, one that acknowledges the peoples' role, responsibility, and self-awareness of this role and in their relationship with archaeology. It is indicative that participants had personal experience of talking to the archaeologists and were eager to confirm that 'if you go there, the girls will tell you [whatever you ask]'.

An additional factor contributing towards this difference may be the result of the difference between the way in which a prominent, long known and Archaeological Service-managed archaeological site and a locally managed and more recently founded prehistoric archaeological site is both presented and explained, as discussed previously (see differences between case studies in

frequency and reasons to visit in 5.1.3). It is striking how similar the percentages of participants who feel that information is accessible to them is to that of participants in other surveys (see 1.10). However the percentage of participants who do not feel that they have access to information is more than double, which highlights the feelings of exclusion expressed in the Greek case studies. In the survey conducted in Naxos this percentage reached 84% of participants (see Gratsia 2.2.7).

In Dispilio, more participants who graduated with compulsory education or less felt that information on the archaeological research conducted in the area is at their disposal (figure 56, table 51). Well over half of the participants who stated that they did not, had graduated with more than compulsory education. Almost three quarters of participants who felt that information was at their disposal, if they asked, had graduated with more than compulsory education.

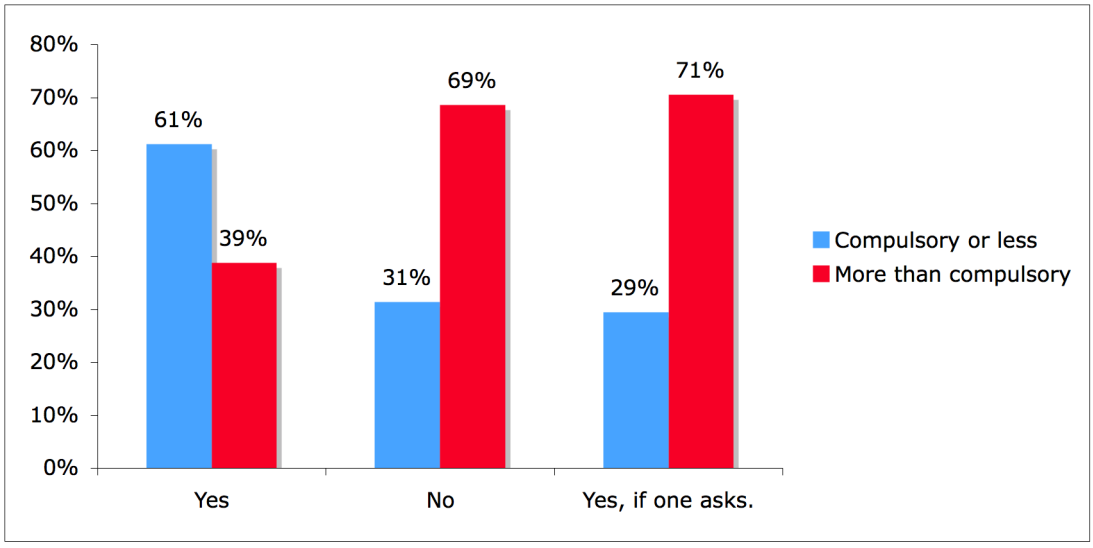

Figure 56 Access to information on research by educational level in Dispilio (n= 101)

This result confirms the pattern identified earlier, of participants with less education being apparently less demanding, more positive and, in general, better inclined towards archaeology (see 5.1.2 and 5.1.3). More educated participants demonstrate the confidence to ask and find out any information

they required. It is noteworthy that these answers reflected what the feeling, the sense, of participants was and they did not necessarily translate into actions.

A question regarding the validity of the research and the results of the archaeologists about the site was included in the surveys conducted in Dispilio and Delphi (see 3.2.2). Percentages were strikingly similar for the two sites (figure 57, table 52). Although the question was aimed at checking for the spread of rumours in Dispilio that archaeologists were 'manufacturing' the evidence (see below 5.1.7), it turned out that the acknowledgment of archaeologists as professionals was as high as it was at a well-established archaeological site such as Delphi. Participants' comments also demonstrated a surprisingly strong belief in the myth of Delphi as the 'navel of the earth' and the spiritual value of the site, challenging thus the 'professional' or scientific approaches of the archaeologists.

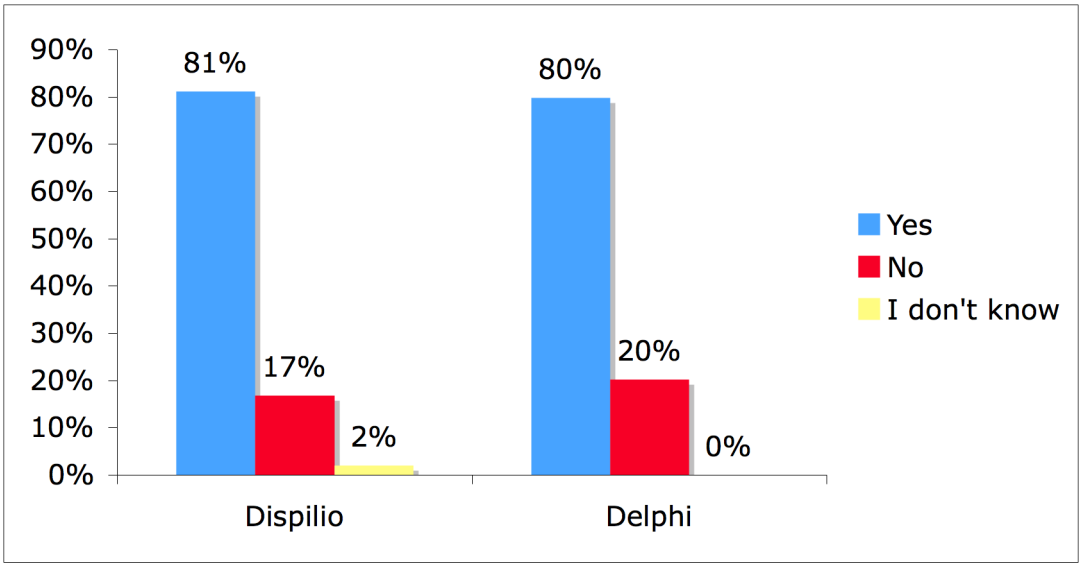

Figure 57 'Do you regard the archaeologists' research and interpretation regarding the settlement as reliable? If no, why?'

The question on the validity of archaeologists' research correlated with gender in Delphi. More female participants regarded the research conducted by the archaeologists as valid (figure 58, table 53). This result confirms the pattern

identified so far regarding gender, where males take a more critical stance towards archaeology while females are more positively inclined and engaged (see 5.1.2 and 5.1.3).

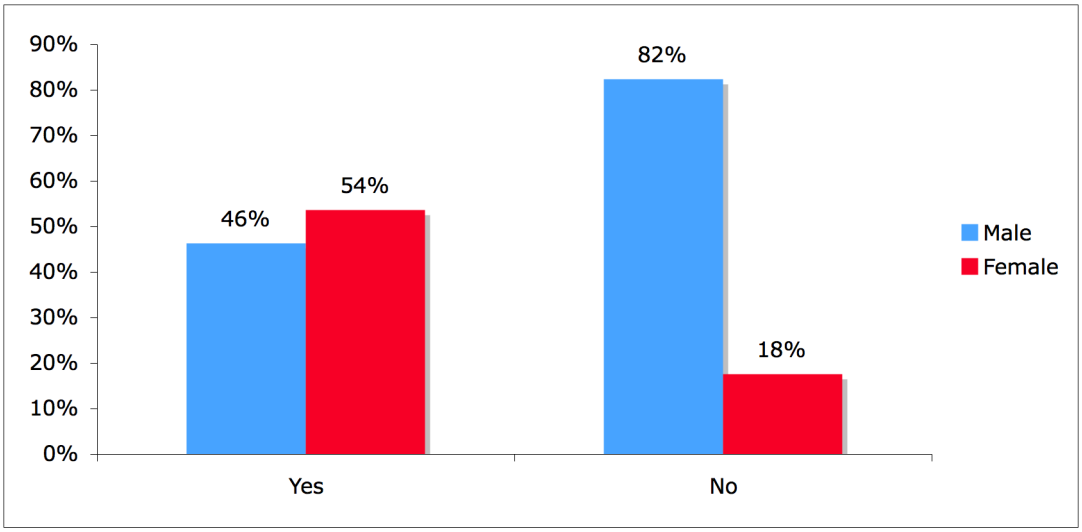

Figure 58 Validity of archaeological research by gender in Delphi (n= 84)

Regarding current choice of sources of information on archaeological research in the area, one third of participants in Krenides, almost half in Delphi and more than three quarters in Dispilio answered that they would 'visit the museum or the site and ask the archaeologists themselves' (figure 59, table 54). These results reinforce the conclusion that the public events organised by the university team contributed greatly to creating an avenue of communication between them and the local community, and it was clearly felt by the latter that they were able to take these up. The fact that the local community has not actively pursued this contact so far has made the archaeologists believe that the open events did not have any effect (member of archaeological team, pers. comm.). It might however be a case of lack of a specific stimulation or context to actually approach the archaeologists.

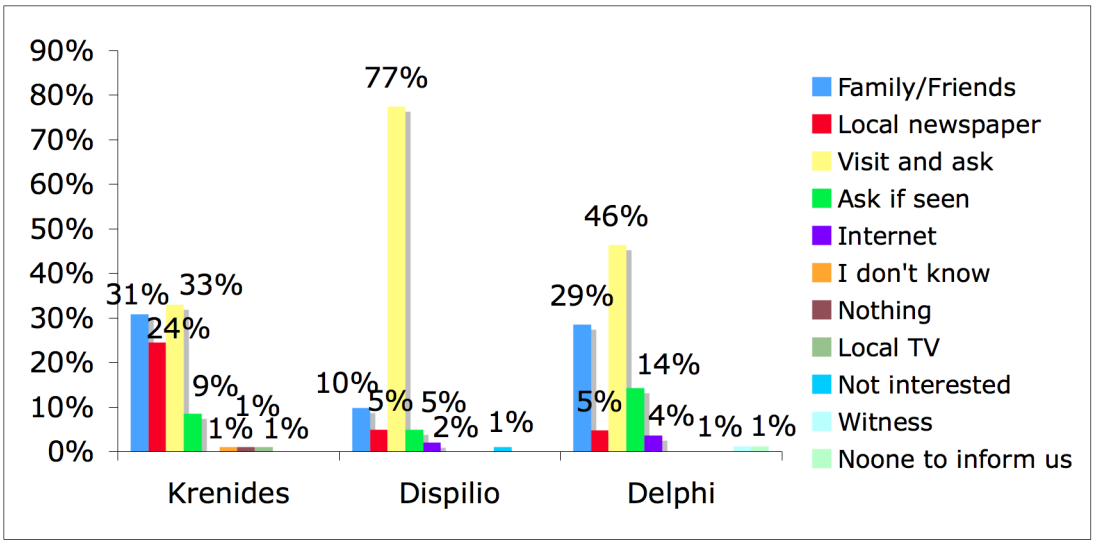

Figure 59 'What would you do if you wanted to become informed about the most recent results of archaeological research in the area?'

In contrast, in Krenides and in Delphi, another one third stated that they would ask members of their family or friends who might know. These percentages demonstrated that, although all archaeologists in Krenides said that their relationship with the local community was good, participants lacked the will to approach them. This may be due to lack of confidence or trust in the archaeologists' work or their professionalism, since locals were persuaded that a family member or a friend would be as reliable a source as an archaeologist, or lack of comfort and easiness in their relationship or contact with them and possibly even fear.

The third biggest group in Delphi and in Dispilio said that they would ask the archaeologists only if they saw them in the village, which suggested a lack of will to approach them in their working space. This was the fourth biggest group in Krenides as the third one answered that they would look at the local newspaper. Overall, the fact that people in Krenides would prefer to turn to local sources (family, friends or the press) by 55% to 42.5% strengthens the

conclusion that the local community is not willing to contact or trust the archaeologists.

When possible sources of information are grouped in two categories, one regarding asking the archaeologists and one relying on local sources (e.g. family, friends, local media), the preferred source of information correlates significantly with a variety of independent variables. In Krenides, employed participants would prefer to turn to the archaeologists for information rather than rely on local sources (figure 60, table 55). Almost as many unemployed participants would rely on local resources.

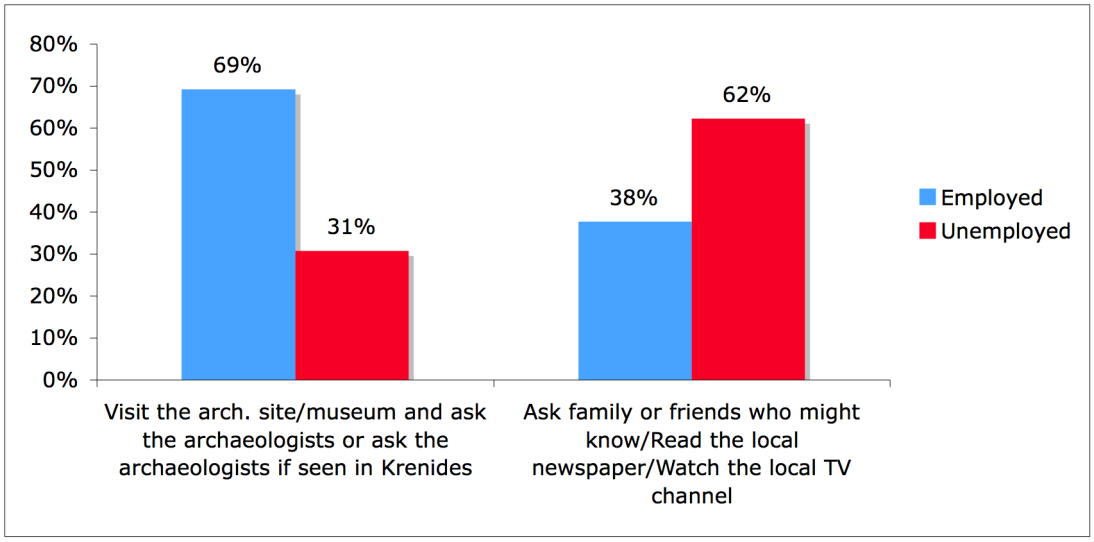

Figure 60 Means to access information on archaeological research by employment condition in Krenides (n= 92)

Considering that employment status correlated with gender, age and education in Krenides (see 4.4), participants who were mainly female, older and had graduated with compulsory education or less would prefer to rely on local resources rather than engage with archaeologists themselves; a conclusion that was supported by further correlations in all three sites.

Different sources of information also correlated with educational level in Dispilio, for example, where fewer participants who had graduated with compulsory education or less would ask the archaeologists (figure 61, table 56).

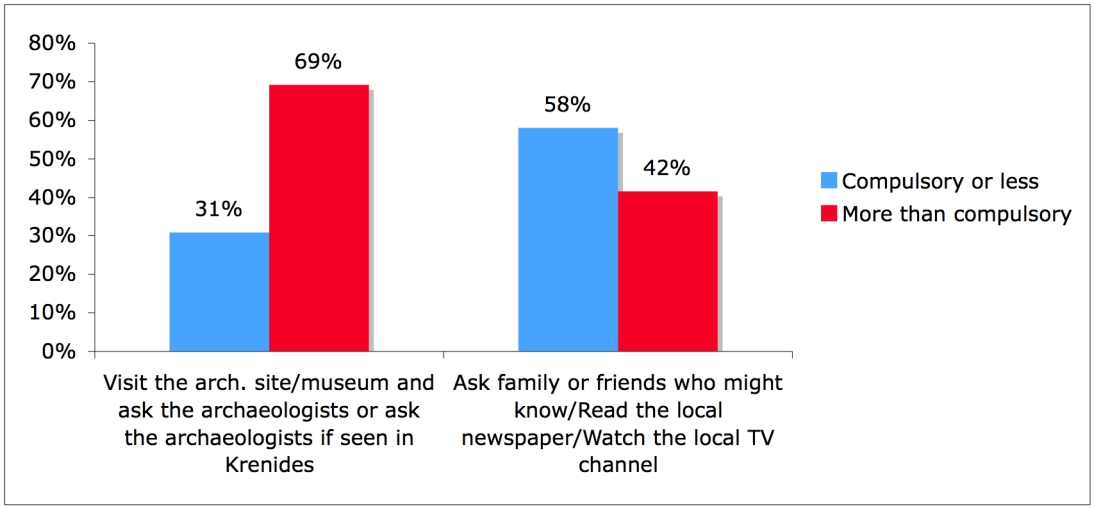

Figure 61 Means to access information on archaeological research by educational level in Dispilio (n= 92)

Sources of information also correlated with age in Dispilio. Fewer participants 65 years old and over would ask the archaeologists (figure 62, table 57). Also fewer participants between 18 and 39 would trust local sources.

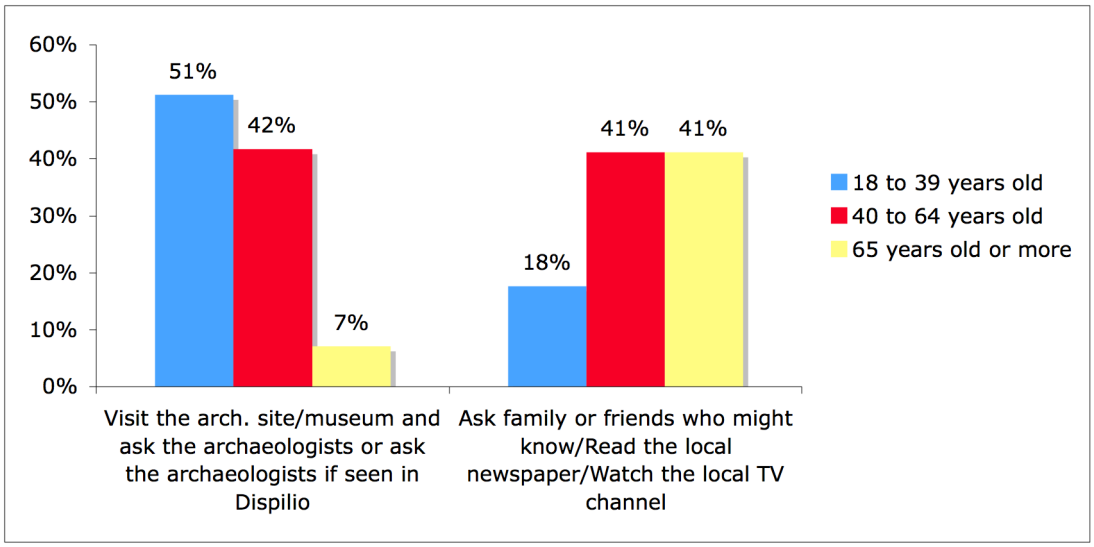

Figure 62 Means to access information on archaeological research by age in Dispilio (n= 101)

This result may be explained by the fact that in Dispilio archaeology is a lot more recent than in the other two sites. Additionally, older people have less contact with the archaeologists because all the members of the archaeological team are younger. It is also possible that older people may be more suspicious by nature of new endeavours or just less likely to engage with new social environments or to move around the community as much, as Merriman also noted in his survey (see 1.10).

In Delphi, answers correlated with gender. More males would ask the archaeologists while more females would turn to local sources (figure 63, table 58). This result confirms earlier conclusions on female participants' engagement with the community's social life (see 5.1.3).

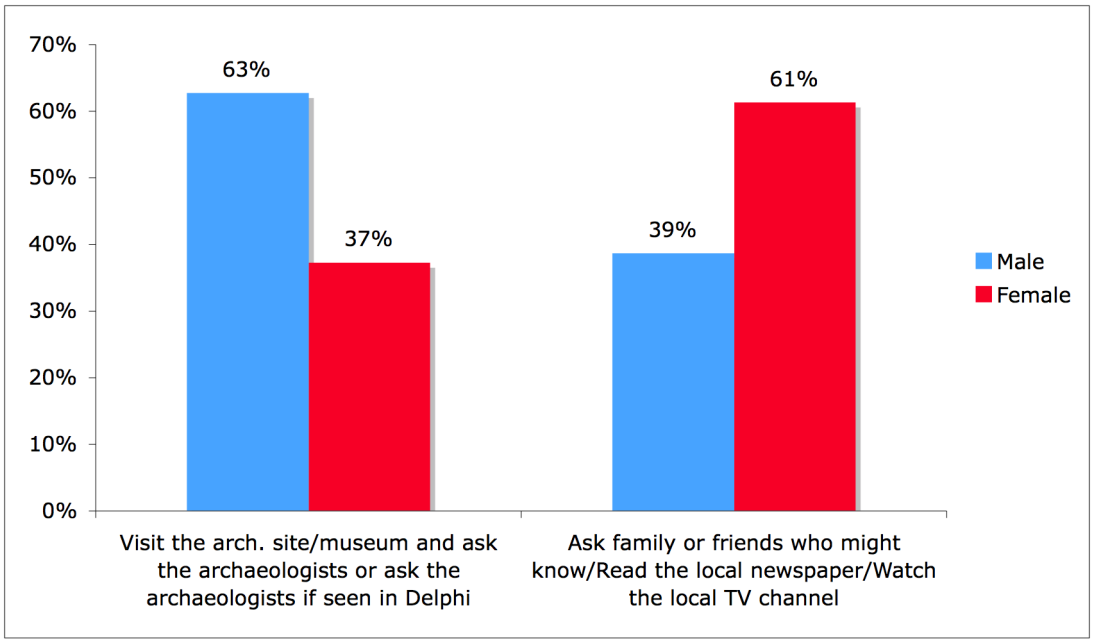

Figure 63 Means to access information on archaeological research by gender in Delphi (n= 82)

Local Identity

Identification of an archaeological site's historical and scientific value was found to impact on locals' sense of place and pride in many ways: they derived

pride from the acknowledgment the name of the area receives, from the value of the archaeological site and its material remains and from the added value of research in the area. It was clear that many participants perceived this kind of recognition mainly as a lever for local economic development. However, high percentages of confirmation of feelings of belonging, of ancestry and of rights and responsibilities over the archaeological resources demonstrated clearly that it also contributed to the sense of pride for one' s origin and is an inherent element of their identity.

In terms of belonging, two thirds of respondents in Dispilio, almost two thirds in Krenides and slightly fewer in Delphi stated that the site belonged to them and was a part of their community (figure 64, table 59). Other answers that were included in the 'no' category included that the site belonged rather to Greece (Krenides, 5%, Dispilio 9% and Delphi just 2%), to the whole world (Delphi, 20%; Krenides and Dispilio 3%) and to 'those who have the political interests and get the money' (Delphi 11%; Krenides 8%; Dispilio 4%).

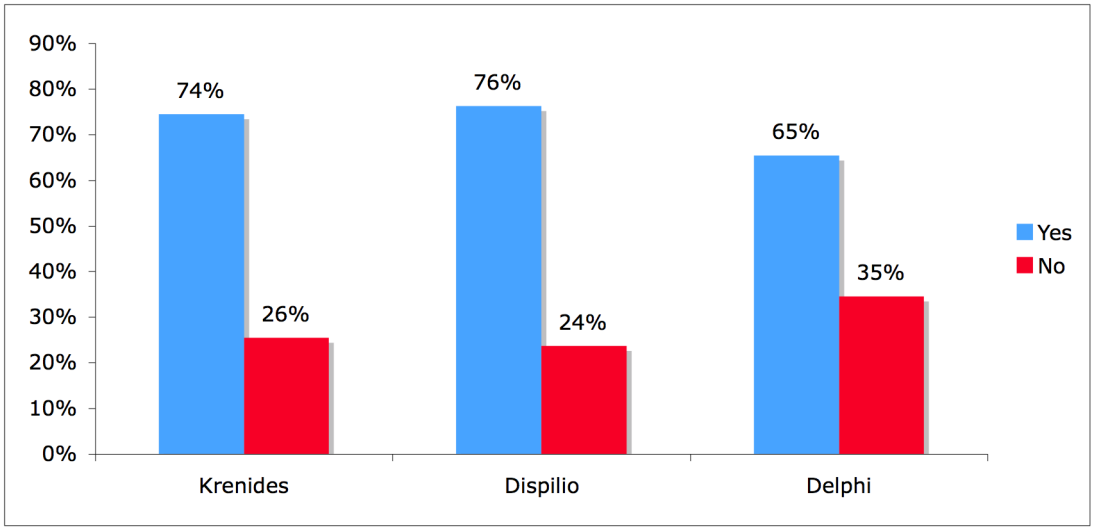

Figure 64 'Do you feel that these archaeological sites/museums belong to you/constitute part of your community and if not, to whom would you say that they belong?'

A clear majority of participants expressed their feeling of ownership of the sites. The role that archaeology played in the shaping of local identity and pride became obvious even in the case of Delphi, where one fifth of participants expressed awareness of the site's international acclaim, as experienced for many years in their every day life and formally recognised through World Heritage status. One tenth of participants in Delphi insisted on the political and economic aspect of their community's relationship to archaeology. This attitude was often expressed by participants during the questionnaire survey through an explicit claim on the revenues from entrance tickets and in respect to proposed counter-measures to balance the regulations over building restrictions, use of property and the negative impact of tourism on the community. It is noteworthy that none of the independent variables correlated with answers about belonging of the archaeological sites and museums and about rights and/or responsibilities for them, as discussed below.

In a question probing the ancestral feeling of participants over three quarters of participants in Delphi and almost three quarters in Krenides were positive (figure 65, table 60). In Dispilio, the percentage fell to just over half.

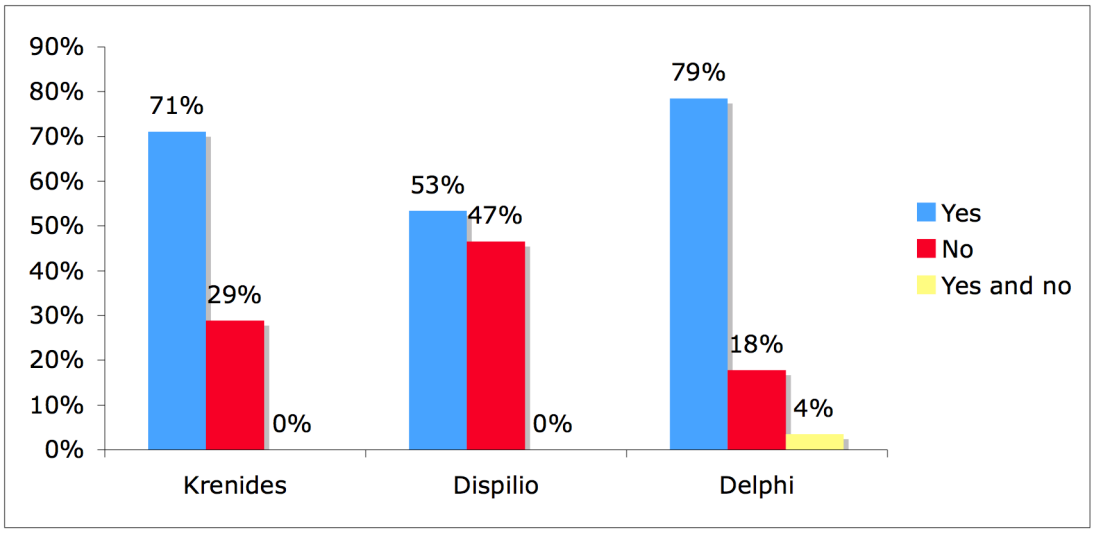

Figure 65 'Do you feel that the people who lived in the area from Neolithic times and left these ruins are your ancestors? Do you feel any relation to them?'

The results at Dispilio may be due to the fact that people who had come to work in Kastoria settled recently in the area, but even older residents said that they live in a recent settlement rather than a historic one. The fact that the archaeological remains of the area are dated to the Neolithic without the intervention of any other Classical, Hellenistic, Roman or even Byzantine material, except for a Hellenistic fortification wall (see 4.2.2), may also contribute to the fact that they felt unrelated to it, although as already demonstrated they still felt the site belonged to them. Another factor that may have contributed was the extended sermon given by the local priest when the excavation was initiated on how Jesus Christ was the founder of all civilisation on earth. As one participant told me: 'Christ brought religion to earth. We do not come from animals.' Furthermore, the generic and generally restricted way in which prehistory has been portrayed in popular culture (e.g. *The Flintstones* cartoon) and in public education (see 2.2.5) may explain why people found it difficult to associate with these times. As one participant said, 'the Neolithic [peoples] were nomads'. Overall, the more prominent the local archaeology was, the more people claimed descent, but in cultural rather than biological terms.

Two variables correlated significantly to participants' answers regarding ancestry both in Krenides and in Dispilio: age and education. In Krenides, more participants in the ages between 18 and 39 did not feel that the people who were originally associated with the sites were their ancestors (figure 66, table 61). The result was the same in Dispilio (figure 67, table 62). The great difference between the youngest age group and the other two provides historical perspective on how people's feeling that they are related to the past may have changed throughout time. It could also explain what has been described as lack of relevance of archaeology. This result also confirmed younger participants as more critical towards archaeology than other age

groups, as was also found regarding impressions from their last visit to the local archaeological site or museum and impressions of museums in surveys conducted in Britain (Prince and Schadla-Hall, see 1.10).

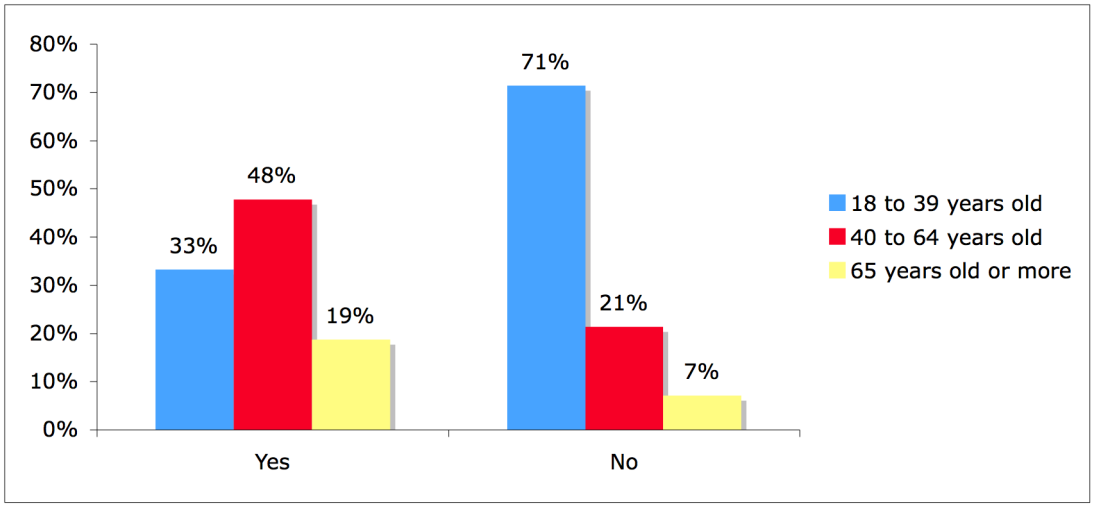

Figure 66 Feeling of ancestry by age in Krenides (n= 97)

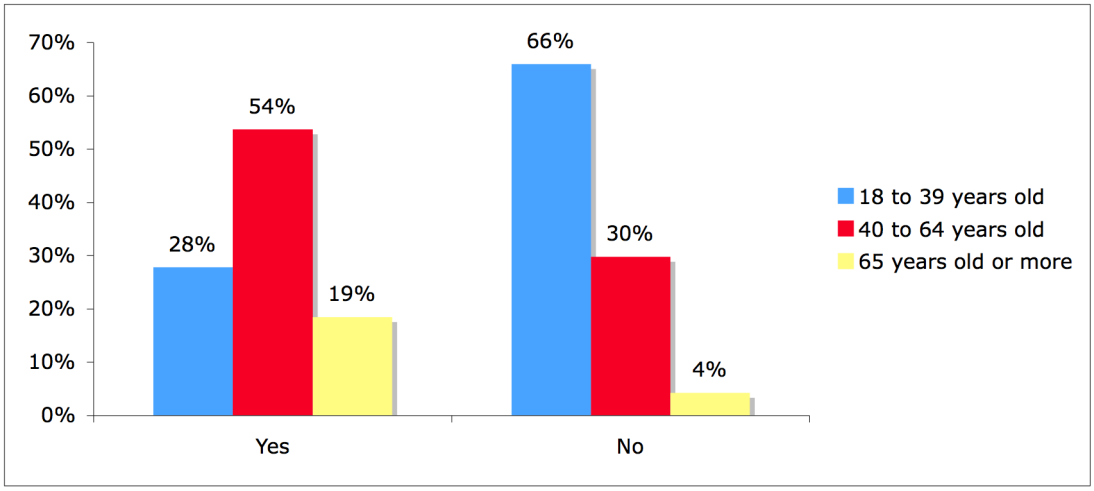

Figure 67 Feeling of ancestry by age in Dispilio (n= 101)

Regarding education, two thirds of participants who did not feel that the people who lived in the area from the Neolithic onwards were their ancestors in Krenides had more than compulsory education (figure 68, table 63).

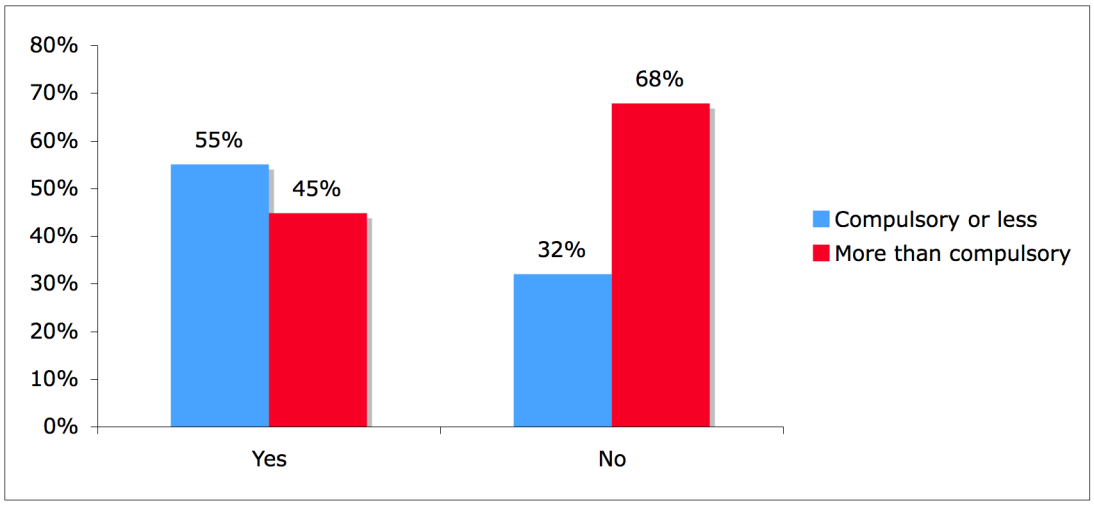

Figure 68 Feeling of ancestry by educational level in Krenides (n= 97)

In Dispilio the pattern was the same. Almost three quarters of participants who stated that they did not feel that these people were their ancestors had graduated with more than compulsory education (figure 69, table 64). This result demonstrated that the more educated a participant was the less likely they were to feel an ancestral relationship with the people of the past.

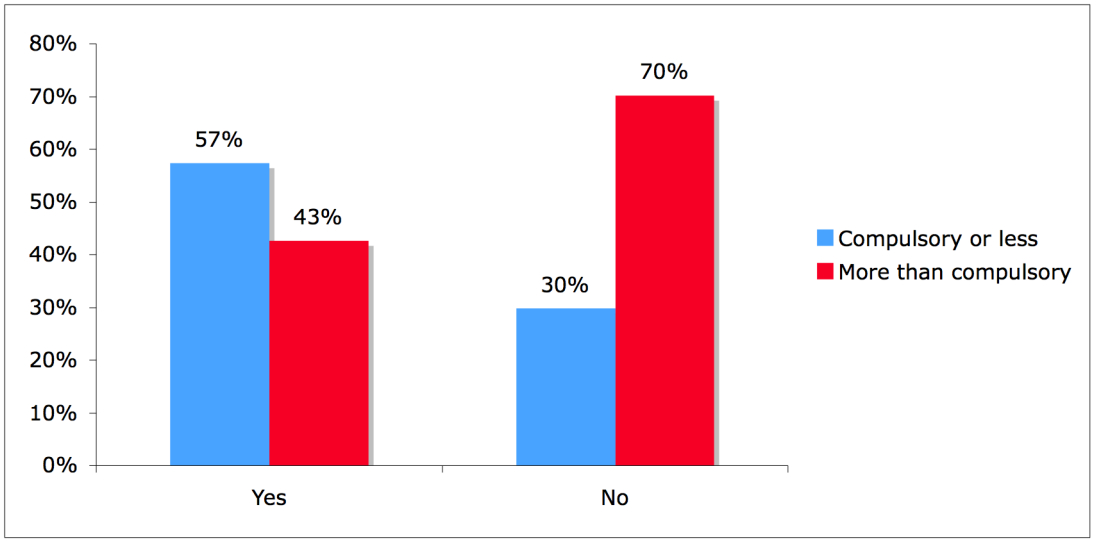

Figure 69 Feeling of ancestry by educational level in Dispilio (n= 101)

In relation to responsibility for and/ or rights to these archaeological sites and museums, three quarters of participants in Delphi, almost two thirds in Krenides and slightly less in Dispilio stated that they had both responsibility and rights (figure 70, table 65).

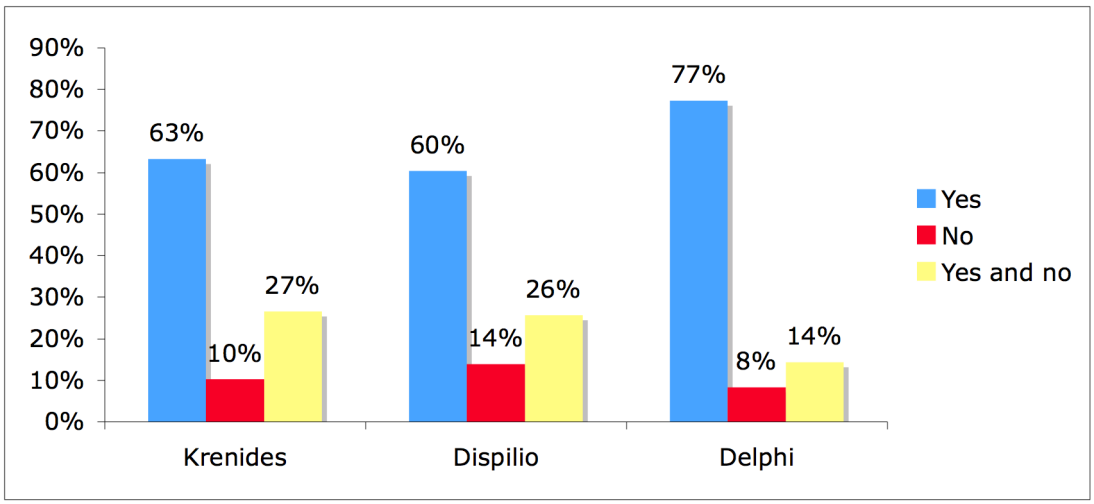

Figure 70 'Do you feel that you have a kind of responsibility for and/or rights to these arch. sites/museums because you live so close to them?'

There was an overall admission that local communities have responsibility of their archaeological sites. However more than one quarter of participants in Krenides and in Dispilio either did not believe that local communities currently had rights or that local communities should have rights. The percentage was lower in Delphi. This can be taken either as an acceptance of the exclusive management by the Archaeological Service or as a statement of protest against it. Answers to questions regarding accessibility to archaeological information (see above) and participation of the local administration in the management of archaeological sites and museums imply that it is rather the latter than the former (see below).

Promotion of the area, its value and pride in it were mentioned as advantages that the local community owed to archaeology. More people mentioned them in Dispilio than in Krenides and in Delphi. This may well be because until

relatively recently the site at Dispilio had been little known while Philippi and Delphi have been acknowledged as sites of archaeological interest for a longer period. Archaeologists have argued along similar lines repeatedly in Dispilio to emphasise their contribution to the area, which they base on evidence such as the number of references now made to the site on the Internet or the pictures that have been uploaded to Google Earth. They claim that there was nothing relevant to Dispilio on the Internet before the excavations started. The representative of the local administration agreed with this point. In addition as another member of the team pointed out, there currently is neither another lake settlement open to visitors in Greece nor an Ecomuseum, and the fact that lake settlements in Greece are not widely known enhances its singularity.

Another contribution of archaeology to local communities is the pride it inspires from the testimony the material remains offer. Again as above, in Delphi and in Philippi the local communities draw pride directly from the history of their sites as it has been documented in the past and as re-discovered by the archaeologists. In Philippi, the site represents a more typical and glorified period of ancient Greek history thanks to its relation to Philip II, Alexander the Great and Saint Paul. The monumentality of the remains also contributes to an impressive perception. In acknowledgment, the representative of the local administration said that their efforts to inscribe the site to the World Heritage List were inspired by their love and admiration for it and the will to leave a worthy heritage to the next generation. The representative of the Diocese also said that they were 'proud of the early Christian finds and the later ones'.

The case is not exactly identical in Dispilio. Only one member of the team, maybe the most optimistic one, believed that locals were proud to show their relatives around the muddy excavation site. There was an overall consensus

among the members of the excavation team that their 'archaeology' had not been received as well as a Classical site would have been received. They attributed this to the history and teaching of Greek archaeology and the secondary role that prehistoric archaeology has played in the formation of the discipline (see 2.1.2 and 2.2.5). Indeed, references to archaeology as 'holes' and 'stones' and the popular name of the excavation site among Dispiliots as 'the holes' indicated that archaeologists have correctly identified the feeling of the locals. A characteristic event during fieldwork was when a participant contrasted the site's presentation in the Internet to the reality, in his opinion: 'you visit the website and you think that this is the Parthenon'.

Finally, the university archaeologist in Philippi was the only archaeologist who referred directly to the locals' pride in the fact that the university is conducting research at 'their' site. He made a clear distinction between the 'face in society' of the university and of the Archaeological Service. In Dispilio, on the other hand, there has been an effort to not associate the excavation with the university, partly because no funding comes from it. The university sign outside the excavation's workshop is small. Although the archaeological team emphasised the argument that archaeology has put Dispilio 'on the map', it is not possible to talk about local pride considering their understanding of their relationship with the local community.

However, if what seems to be a contradiction between the pride of Dispiliots in the reputation of their area and the lack of faith in the value of the actual material remains of the past is placed in the context of literature on the relationship between archaeology and local communities, it can be explained. The case is similar to that of Sphakia, where it took time for people to trust and respect first the work of the archaeological team and then their findings, and to reach the point of feeling proud enough to raise the issue of displaying them in

a museum. People did not value the findings of the Toumba excavation in Thessaloniki either, but did value the excavation in the context of the broader stereotype of the value of the past (see 2.2.7).

The university archaeologist of the site was one of the few participants who clearly articulated the idea of the contribution archaeology could make to local cultural awareness and identity. He referred to the current identity of the Greek periphery, as one that is shaped under the influence of TV culture and in imitation of the trends followed in Athens. His idea of a local identity contrasted with the day-long festivals, based on local products, where 'anything anti-cultural there is' is present: 'bad singers, bad food, no relation to the character of the area'. Specifically in relation to Dispilio, his idea consisted of the development of small-scale visitor businesses around the archaeological site, the Ecomuseum, the excavation park and the future museum. In the end he admitted with disappointment and disdain that the locals did not share the feeling of identity that archaeology had potentially given to Dispilio.

In a similar vein, the representative of the Association of Greek Archaeologists also referred to the potential for archaeology to contribute to the 're-connection of local communities with their cultural landscape' on the grounds that so far Greek archaeology has minimised any material culture that is less glorious than the Parthenon, with exceptions such as Delphi and Olympia, with impact on people's perceptions of their local heritage. The case of Dispilio explicitly alluded to this degrading view of anything possessing less than Classical grandeur (see the comment above that compared Dispilio to the Parthenon).

Social Cohesion

Considering the role that employment status and educational level seem to play in the views of participants, one could suggest that these two variables influence participants' perceptions to the degree that there might be an issue of social cohesion. This is particularly true in the case of Krenides where these two variables correlated with 25 other. In Dispilio, educational level correlated eight times and employment status only twice. None of these variables turned out to be statistically significant in Delphi. Both in Delphi and in Dispilio, gender turned out to play a much more influential role in the opinions of participants.

From these results one could argue that it might be possible to demonstrate that archaeology does have a potentially more socially cohesive role in the local community of Delphi rather than in Dispilio and even less so in Krenides. Not only has archaeology not contributed to social cohesion in these communities but it has also constituted in itself a field where economic, social and political discrepancies are projected.

Heritage

The potential role that archaeology might play in the formation of an idea of cultural inheritance related to locality surfaced on several occasions in the survey's results. One instance regarded participants' associations of archaeology particularly when they were related to locality (see 5.1.2) and it turned out to be the strongest association in each case study. Another instance was revealed by the high response rate of 'experience/life here' regarding the most basic source of information on archaeology (see below on educational impact).

A Director of an Ephorate referred to the programme contracts between the Ministry and local administrations to say that archaeological work needed to be supported by the local administration and not to be only conducted by the Archaeological Service because it is the people who 'mirror and reflect' the bearing of the monuments. Therefore, the people's culture is influenced by the existence of the monuments and the people express this kind of influence in their own livelihood and behavior. These are quite vague statements, one could even say, mainstream 'cultural rhetoric', but significant in that they were at least mentioned.

Public Spaces

As a public resource archaeological sites may also contribute to the creation of public spaces in the community. As discussed in relation to the reasons locals visit their archaeological sites (see 5.1.3), local archaeological sites often contribute to the social life of the community by hosting events or occasional recreational walking. An example that illustrates this is the use of the ancient theatre for the purposes of the Philippi Festival, a local initiative (see 4.1.1). In the area next to the archaeological site, there is space for casual walks, a basketball court, a café-restaurant, a playground and the municipality's art gallery, adding to the recreational and public character of the area.

Although the excavation team in Dispilio have tried many times to make the archaeological site and its work publicly accessible (see 4.2.1), according to one of its members, the response of the locals declined rapidly from the first year and on. The same member affirmed that the team regarded the Ecomuseum as the most successful of its public presentation projects in terms of its acceptance by the locals. In Delphi, according to participants in the survey, the

archaeological site and the museum were used rarely and only under special circumstances for public events.

Leisure

Although participants in the survey expressed their interest in archaeology in great majorities in all case studies (see 5.1.1), one cannot claim that this interest is necessarily translated into active engagement with archaeology. Participants' will to engage in archaeological activities was further investigated. In the question, *'how interested do you think people like you would be in visiting the excavation, if the excavation was open to the public while the archaeologists were digging on a scale from 1 (not interested at all) to 10 (extremely interested)?'* half of participants in Dispilio and in Delphi were not interested. In Krenides, almost half were interested (figure 71, table 66).

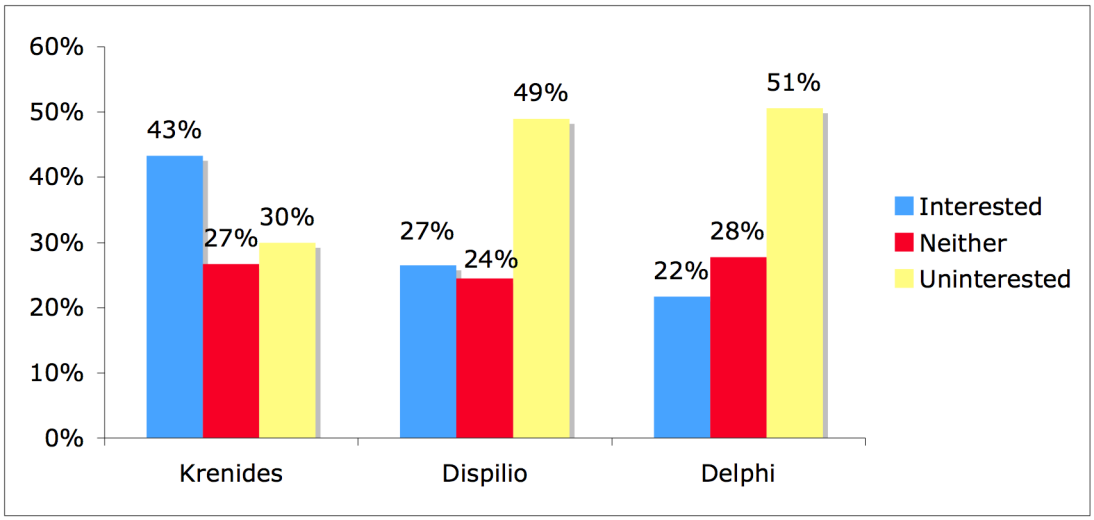

Figure 71 'On a scale of 1 (not interested at all) to 10 (extremely interested), if the excavations were open to the public while the archaeologists were digging, how interested do you think people like you would be in visiting it?'

The difference could be explained by the fact that rescue excavations had taken place occasionally in Krenides and participants had experience of locals gathering around the trenches and watching over the archaeologists.

In the question *'How interested do you think people like you would be in actively participating in the dig, if such an initiative was taken by archaeologists on a scale from 1 (not interested at all) to 10 (extremely interested)?'* there was an obvious shift of answers to the positive side of the spectrum. More than one third of participants were positive in Dispilio and in Delphi and again close to half in Krenides (figure 72, table 67).

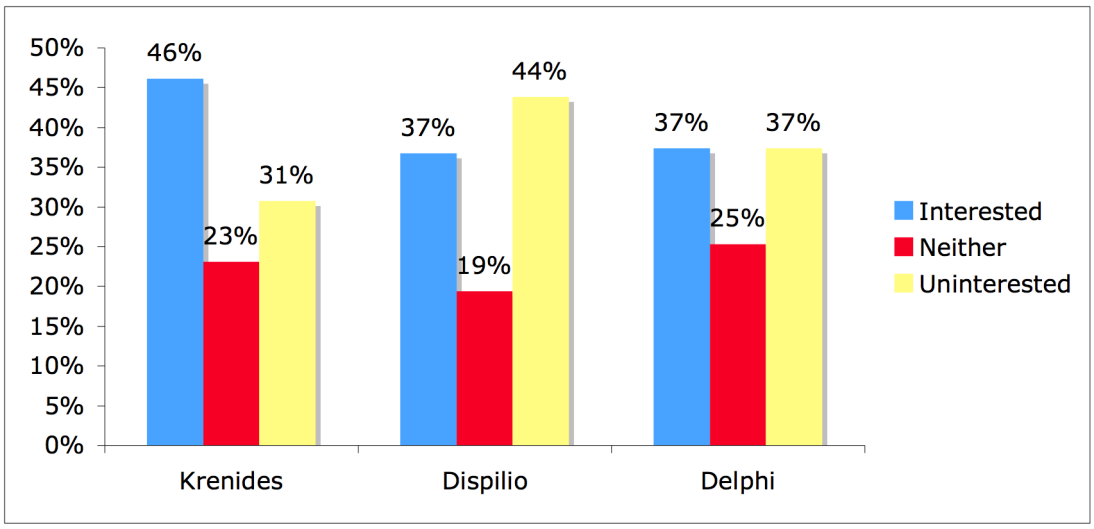

Figure 72 'On a scale of 1 (not interested at all) to 10 (extremely interested), how interested do you think people like you would be in participating voluntarily in the excavation, if such an initiative was taken by archaeologists?'

The rise in positive answers might suggest that participants would be more willing to participate in an actively engaging and unknown experience than to passively watch the archaeologists work, which was the way the previous question was perceived in the absence of other educational and entertaining events such as the ones hosted in 'open days'. This seems to be in agreement with the way students answered the same question (Dassiou 2005, see 2.2.5).

Interest in participating in an excavation correlated with frequency of attendance of the Philippi Festival in Krenides. Fewer participants who attended the Philippi Festival rarely or once every three years were neither interested nor uninterested in volunteering at an excavation (figure 73, table

68). It is noteworthy that fewer participants who attended the Festival rarely or once every three years were uninterested and more were interested; potentially demonstrating that participants who did not enjoy spectacles were more likely to enjoy engagement with an activity such as excavation.

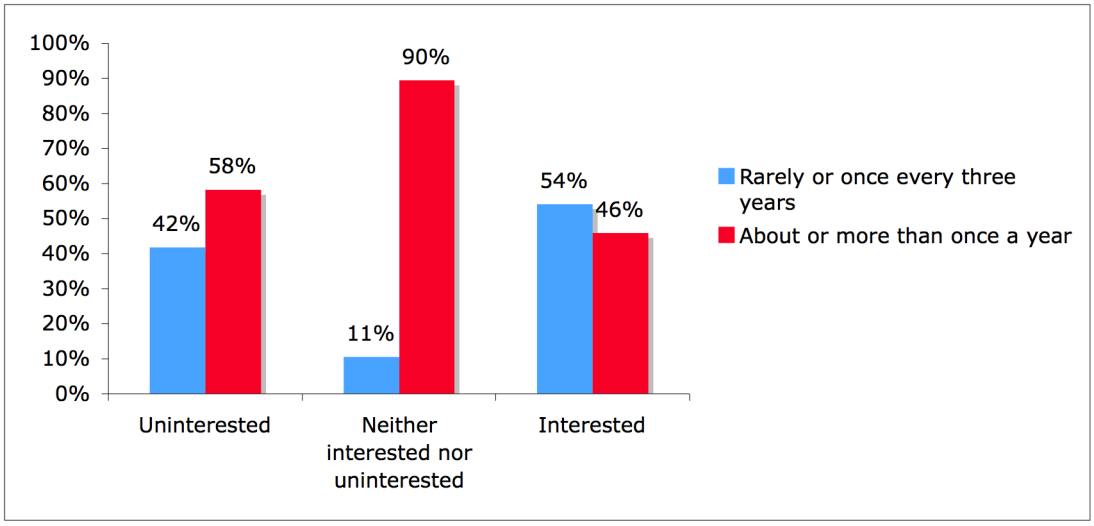

Figure 73 Interest in voluntary participation in excavation by frequency of attendance to the Philippi Festival in Krenides (n= 80)

In Dispilio, fewer female participants would be uninterested in volunteering for an excavation (figure 74, table 69).

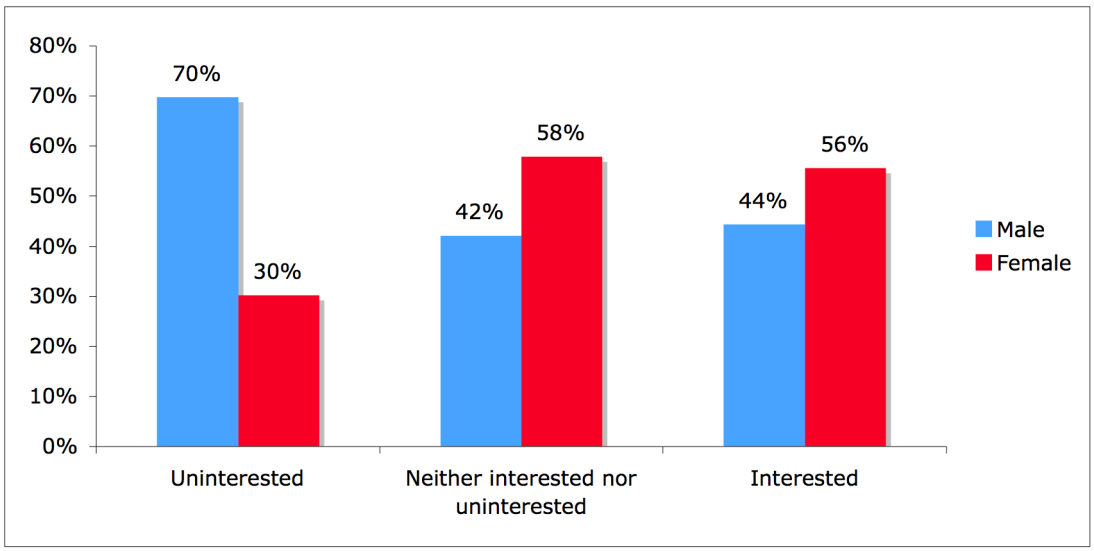

Figure 74 Interest in voluntary participation in excavation by gender in Dispilio (n= 98)

In Delphi, as many female participants were interested in volunteering in an excavation as males were uninterested (figure 75, table 70). These results confirm the pattern observed before regarding female participants being more positive and willing to engage with archaeology than male.

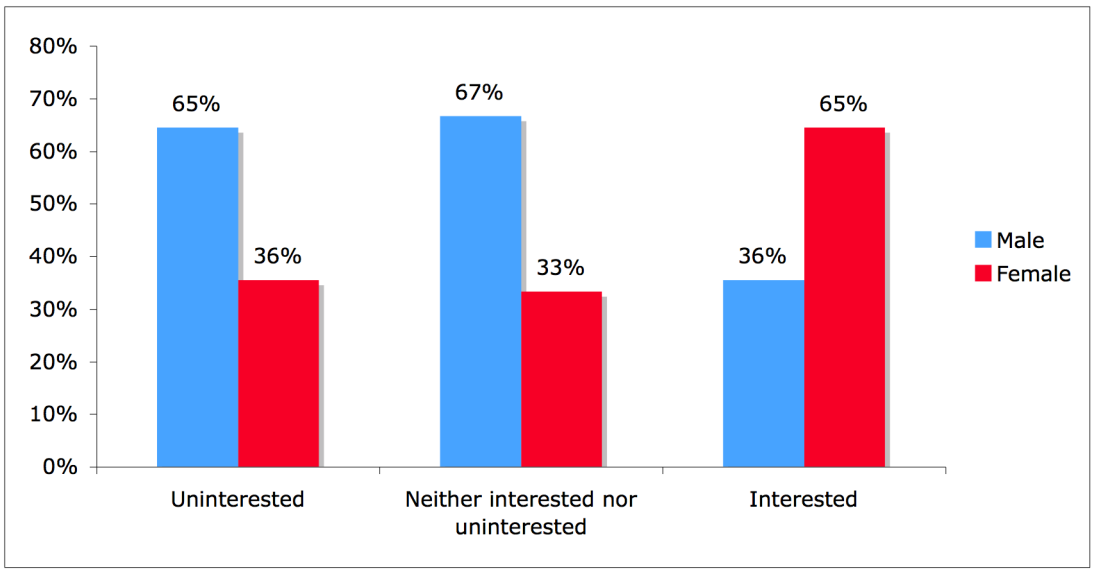

Figure 75 Interest in voluntary participation in excavation by gender in Delphi (n= 83)

Another important factor in the inclusion of an archaeological site or museum in the social life of a local community is its compatibility with the cultural landscape already in place. When it came to reasons for local visits, the highest rates of responses in Krenides and Dispilio included attendance of an event or walking and exercise (see 5.1.3). Such a case is the Philippi Festival. The fact that frequency of attendance of the Festival as a variable correlated with seven other variables, being the third most influential variable in Krenides, demonstrated that its role has been formulative for the opinions of the local community about archaeology and the past.

Despite the efforts of the archaeological team in Dispilio, according to the opinion of one of its members, none of the events they organised had a similar effect on the local community with the exception of the Ecomuseum. Although

there is no documentary evidence regarding these activities or their impact, one could suggest that a reason would be the lack of effort to incorporate them in the current cultural landscape of Dispilio, even if this refers only to the Ascension Day Fair.

It is true that the Archaeological Service now frequently organises public events (see 2.2.3). However, these are organised according to the archaeologists' interests, agenda and standards while evidence showed that activities with better potential to succeed are the ones that originate from the local communities, such as the Philippi Festival. In Dispilio, as a member of the Association of Friends of the Lake Settlement admitted, their most successful event was the staging of a play with the participation of many students from Dispilio.

Another example was a concert organised by the youth of Dispilio next to the Ecomuseum at the time of fieldwork. Although the organisation committee invited the university archaeologist to introduce their event with a speech, thus honouring him and the whole team, the few members of the team who attended it left the event after he had spoken. Lack of responsiveness thus goes both ways between archaeologists and local communities.

Social Awareness

The vast majority in all three case studies agreed with participation of the local administration and cultural associations in the management of their local archaeological sites. The high level of public consent was noteworthy. The representatives of both local administrations noted that a good collaboration always helped to resolve issues that emerged and implicated the Archaeological Service and the local administration. One of them also emphasized that since

there was a chance that the local administration's decisions might impact on the archaeological resource they should, at least, be informed on a regular basis so that they made the right decision for protection.

In this respect, the role the local community of Delphi played in a debate that regarded the construction of an aluminium plant approved by the Ministry of Culture (see 4.3.3) constitutes a successful case of active participation in the management of their archaeological site. Of course, the case would probably not have been as successful without international support and pressure regarding UNESCO's World Heritage List nomination of the archaeological site. However, the outcome strengthened the self-confidence of the local community because, although it depended on experts' and politicians' opinion, the locals' opinion was in the end deemed legitimate. This self-confidence became apparent when survey participants in Delphi expressed their disapproval of the modern theatre, built to host performances instead of the ancient one, when they claimed percentages from the archaeological site's and museum's revenue and when they argued for the unification of the archaeological site by the removal of the national road, even at the expense of the olive grove of the Plain of Krisa.

Other than the impact on the collective local identity, a few participants also recognised the impact on individual development. The university archaeologist in Philippi said that he was trying to inspire a love for antiquities and for one's locality in the workers. A contract archaeologist talked in general terms about the value of 'acquiring knowledge that takes you further intellectually and makes you care about a wider range of things that do not necessarily concern you'. The representative of the local administration in Dispilio said that the most important contribution of archaeology was that one saw one's roots in parallel to his present life.

Social Relationships

Interviews with locals who worked at the excavations revealed that they appreciated archaeology a lot, they understood archaeological work better and they often talked about it with their fellow citizens. After all, a great part of the local communities seemed to prefer to learn about archaeological work in the area from them, locals, family or friends, who might know about it, as the survey demonstrated in relation to preferred sources of information on archaeology (see above). Archaeologists had recognised the differentiation in these people's behaviour but they had either attributed it to the economic dependence of their relationship, as members of the Dispilio team made clear, or did not prioritise a good relationship with the local community for other than clearly practical reasons, as seemed to be the case of the archaeologists in Krenides.

Another way in which archaeology impacts on the human capital of a local community is the presence of research teams for the duration of fieldwork. The local community is exposed to people from entirely different backgrounds, who enrich the local social setting. In Krenides, the French School research team lives among the local community for about two months every year. They rent in Krenides, shop from the local market, work and entertain themselves among them, as the representative of the local adminstration said. As a result, he affirmed that the local community embraced them. He admitted that they could contribute even more if they were asked to organise public presentations and events to attract the local community's interest in their work. Representatives of other bodies in the area also contributed to this enrichment: the EEC frequently hosts educational programmes for schools from all over the country, while

HERAC also hosts educational activities about once a year in collaboration with international research teams and foreign universities.

In Dispilio, a representative of the former local administration described the presence of students of archaeology as life-giving for the village. However the archaeological team in Dispilio is quite an introverted one as some of its members admitted. They work throughout the day either at the excavation site or at the workshop with the exception of an afternoon break for lunch, which is served at the workshop by a local catering business. In the evening, they tend to continue in the workshop area either talking or working, thus reinforcing Fotiadis' argument of intensity of research as a tactic that keeps local life away from archaeologists (1993). However, a member of the team stated that some years ago they used to go out more, to the very few places Dispilio had to offer, and even socialised with the locals during these opportunities.

Personal Development

Culture in general impacts on individuals. A representative of the local administration of Kavala, with particular involvement in the organisation of the Philippi Festival, suggested that it was common sense to believe that when you bring someone into a cultural space, 'things are created inside them', even more so if they attended 'live things'. It is especially important for children to visit archaeological sites because 'they will earn a lot'. 'It will enrich their interests, increase their sensitivity, their criteria and their demands or standards. Some will feel an attraction and follow either as audience or as creators themselves.' He, therefore, referred to the intellectual and sensory effects of culture on individuals even with political nuances and also with relation to professional development. This was the most specific mention of the impact of culture on individuals among all interviewees. An example of this impact was a local who,

thanks to his participation in a rock art summer school, undertook an MA and a PhD on the rock art of the area.

Personal development through archaeology also related to the case of some of the local workers at the excavations, who developed their own interest in archaeology through work. A case of personal and professional development was the one of a local worker in Dispilio who took up excavation work alongside his proper job in the fur industry. Eventually he gave up the latter and became a permanent employee of the Archaeological Service. Other workers have also gained the constant renewal of their contracts with the Service thanks to their personal interest in the subject and careful undertaking of tasks on site. During fieldwork, participants, mainly craftsmen, said that they used to walk around the archaeological site of Philippi looking for ideas to apply in their work.

Another aspect of personal development is the one that relates more to spiritual benefits. During the questionnaire survey, a few people, especially in Delphi, mentioned the regenerative impact of a visit to the site on them.

In 2010, the first generation of adults born after the excavation started in Dispilio will come of age. One could claim that the fact that they have never experienced life in Dispilio without the presence or the premises of the excavation team would influence their relationship with the site, much the same as for residents of Krenides and in Delphi over the past hundred years. A member of the excavation team in Dispilio described her perception of how the local community's understanding of the project had developed in a way similar to Matsuda's scheme (see 1.10): locals first understood what an excavation is, then they understood what the archaeologists were trying to do and then the particularities of the period of the past they were interested in.

Archaeology's Added Value

The foundation of other cultural institutions in the area further adds to the value of the archaeological sites and of the local communities. The European Cultural Centre in Delphi constitutes such an initiative that adds constantly to the existing value of Delphi as a cultural resource of the area through its activities. The Diocese of Philippi has also built and inaugurated a conference centre with the aim of undertaking similar activity.

Although there is no expectation that the local communities will attend the events hosted, especially international and specialised conferences, it is reasonable to assume that such events enrich the social life of a community and challenge its introversion. In time, the university archaeologist in Philippi believed that in such venues younger researchers will be able to give presentations for locals on the material culture and history of Philippi.

Regarding how archaeologists perceive that their work impacts local communities and the public in general, the representative of the Association of Greek Archaeologists stated that according to them the primary role of archaeology in Greece is cultivating people in broad social and cultural terms (*paideutikos*). However, he contradicted himself very quickly by admitting that archaeologists have not realised the necessity of maintaining a good relationship with the local communities. One wonders how it is possible to perceive their basic role as socially and culturally expanding people, if they do not maintain good relationships with the locals.

This contradiction revealed the gulf that exists between archaeology and archaeologists and the broader public: there is no match between what

archaeologists think they do and what the people think archaeologists do, what archaeologists think they are and what people think archaeologists are, and the other way around, between what people are and what archaeologists think people are and finally, what people want from archaeology and archaeologists and what archaeologists think that people want from them and the discipline. This gulf is expressed in other ways as well, i.e. the provision of event rooms in new museums aimed at the perception that the Ministry has of the public, in the absence of the public itself (see also 2.1.4).

Educational Impact

Archaeologists most frequently mentioned educational programmes with regards to the contribution of archaeology to the local community, other than its scientific work. Often they constituted the counterpart in a bipolar schema: 'presentations for adults' and 'educational programmes for children'. It is true that specific initiatives of the Ministry of Culture, such as the Melina Project in the 1990s and 2000s (see 2.2.4), succeeded in institutionalising educational programmes in the activities of the Archaeological Service to the extent that there was funding available.

Regarding the primary source of knowledge about archaeology, experience of life in the area, books and media and school education were found to be the most important (figure 76, table 71). These frequencies showed that school education either does not apparently contribute towards acquiring archaeological knowledge or that it is not appreciated for its contribution. They also revealed the discrepancy between the means archaeologists perceived to be effective in communicating archaeology, i.e. public lectures and educational programmes, as mentioned above, and the ones the local communities identified as primary in their knowledge about the subject. Additionally, they

demonstrated that the people attributed an experiential character to the way they acquired knowledge. Finally, these results show that what the local communities acknowledge as the educational value of archaeology (31% in Krenides and Delphi and 27% in Dispilio) is not met according to their appreciation, except for the case of Krenides. Formal education as a source of knowledge of history was rated even lower in surveys conducted in North America. Museums, television, travel, books and magazines came before (see 1.10).

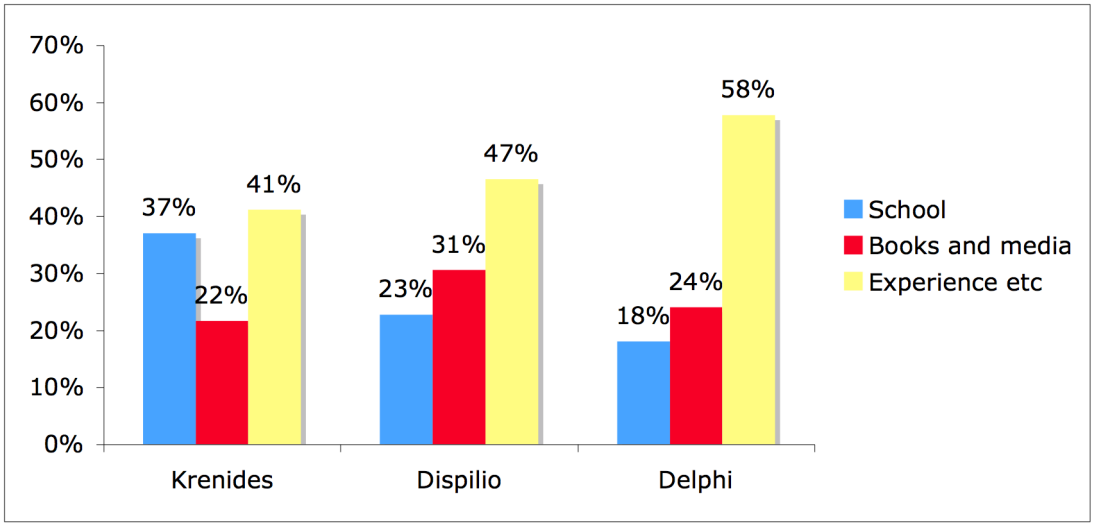

Figure 76 'What is the primary source of information of what you know about archaeology?'

Although 'educational value' is broader as a concept than 'archaeological knowledge in school education', the relatively low percentages 'school education' received demonstrated how little use of the educational value of archaeology is actually made in the school environment and revealed the potential for the future (see also Dassiou 2005; Fragoudaki and Dragona 1997; Kasvikis 2004). At the same time, these percentages revealed the promising prospect that the immediate and localised relationship between archaeologists, archaeological sites and local communities offer.

In Dispilio, the high percentage of participants who answered that 'experience/environs/life here' had been their primary source of information reinforced the conclusion that the community has appreciated the archaeologists' efforts, even if they do not participate in the public events organised or if they participate out of economic interest, as members of the team indicated. A few participants in the questionnaire survey, stated emphatically that 'the Professor informs us every year', when they were asked about access to information.

A question worth raising at this point is how and what is communicated to the local communities about archaeology and the past through their own experience and life close to archaeological sites? Gratsia (2010) in her survey in Naxos concluded that local communities were not aware of as much as they needed in order to actively engage with protection and therefore, highlighted the importance of information sharing on the part of archaeologists, as a first step towards engagement and participation.

Main sources of knowledge on archaeology correlated with educational level in Krenides and in Dispilio. In Krenides, more participants with compulsory education or less stated 'experience/ my environs/ life here' as their main source of knowledge on archaeology and equally more participants with more than compulsory education stated 'school education' (figure 77, table 72).

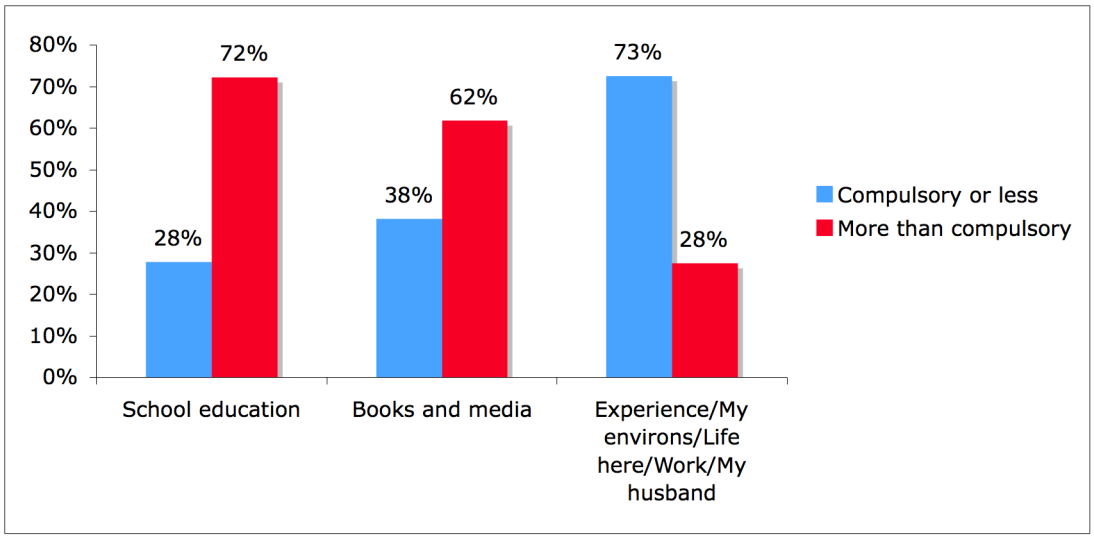

Figure 77 Main source of knowledge on archaeology by educational level in Krenides (n= 97)

The pattern is almost identical in Dispilio. Almost three quarters of participants who stated school education as their primary source of information had more than compulsory education (figure 78, table 73).

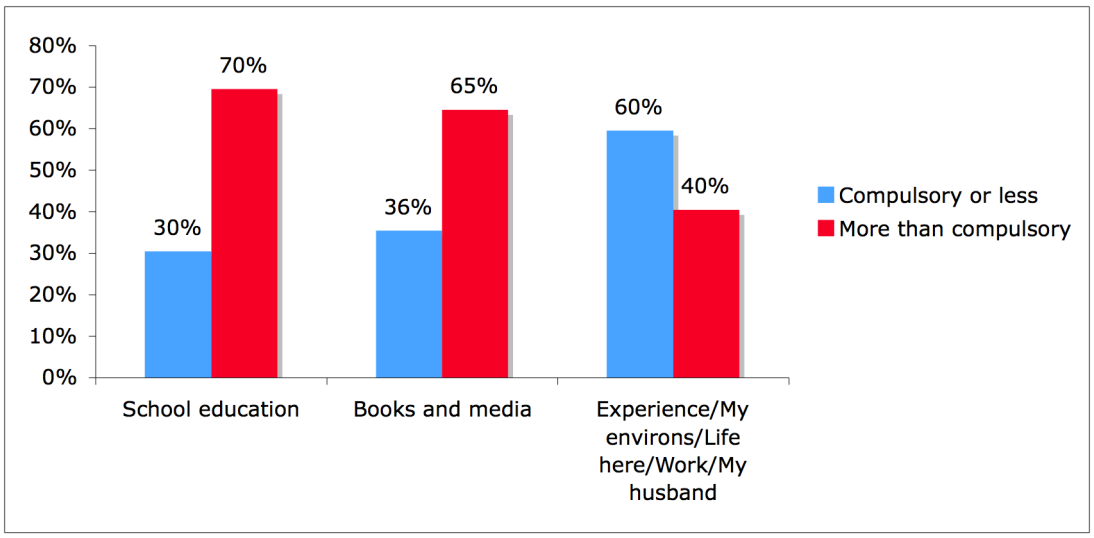

Figure 78 Main source of knowledge on archaeology by educational level in Dispilio (n= 101)

In relation to the future prospects of archaeology's educational role, the newly established EECs offer a unique opportunity to disseminate the educational benefits of the local archaeological resource locally and nationally (see 4.1.1,

4.2.1 and 4.3.1). However, according to the representative of the EEC in Philippi, although educational programmes were conducted on site with the informal consent of the Archaeological Service, there was no collaboration either with the Archaeological Service or with the university team. The reason they were given was lack of financial and human resources. The representative compared this problem to the French School's generous contribution of resources at no extra cost or effort for the Centre.

Most participants in the survey commented in relation to the relevance of archaeology, that its limited educational impact led to a lack of appreciation and the absence of a sound relationship with archaeology for people in Greece. Excavation workers in Krenides who also worked at the archaeological museum in Kavala attributed Greeks' indifference to antiquities to their lack of knowledge and education to appreciate them. One of them described school visits as quick walks through the museum while teachers wait outside.

Associates of the team in Dispilio described the local school's excursions as an opportunity for the teachers to sit in the sun and, although they are a few metres away from the excavation, none of them care to bring the students closer. The university archaeologist narrated an earlier incident when his daughter asked her teacher to take them to the archaeological museum and the teacher responded that they would go when the weather was good enough for them to play in the museum's yard.

All these examples indicate a lack of preparedness on the part of the educational community to use the archaeological resources combined with the lack of interest and knowledge on the part of the archaeologists as to how to approach and prepare them. One of the Dispilio associates insisted that it was too much to ask from people with little education to engage in archaeology. She

justified this by mentioning that the fact that in public education chapters on ancient culture are omitted in the examinations and that thus even the state treats culture as unnecessary knowledge.

5.1.6 Political Impact of Archaeology

The university archaeologist in Dispilio was the only archaeologist who spoke clearly and specifically about the role of archaeology in raising the political awareness of individuals. At a public presentation that the youth club of Dispilio asked him to give to open a musical event they organised, he stated that an archaeological excavation is not 'a simple process of discovery of finds' but rather 'the invitation to participation in the creation of another culture, in the shaping of another man, in the establishment of another, new and just society'.

He gave four arguments to support this point of view. He claimed that first archaeology brings out self-consciousness. 'The individual realises his or her position in the continuity, in history, and ceases to perceive him or herself as an autonomous individual, apart from society, who acts arbitrarily and is indifferent to what happens around him or her'. Second, the individual realises his or her role in the production of culture by 'acquiring deep knowledge of the way a culture is formed, operates and decays'. Participation in more cultural events that take the individual away from 'the traps of television's degeneration' is the third benefit of the individual's relationship with archaeology. Finally, he claimed that a last benefit lies in:

> …the decision to look for not only the human factor but also the causes that render humans either creators or destroyers, behind the every day events, to realise and identify, to search and recognise the

> causes that condemn the children of Africa to starve, the causes of the destruction of remains of ancient civilizations in Iraq and their material specimens in the looted museums of Bagdad.

Although, admittedly, he had more time to prepare his thoughts for this public address than the other archaeologists who were interviewed, no other participant expressed as specifically the political or even broader social role archaeology can play. Regarding the public's perception on the political relevance of archaeology, only 4%, 2% and 1% of participants prioritised the political value of archaeology (see 5.2, figure 79, table 75) and only 2%, 1% and 0% related archaeology closely with contemporary politics (see 5.2, figure 81, table 74) in Krenides, Delphi and Dispilio respectively. The representative of the Association of Greek Archaeologists echoed these results when he maintained that the political role of archaeology has been in decline since the nineteenth century, when it was central. Even when it is related to politics it is with nationalist politics, 'when the country has something to prove' as an archaeologist put it, which can explain why it is more valued as such in sites of high political importance such as Philippi or where it can reaffirm the prominence of Greece in the ancient world, as in Delphi.

5.1.7 Cases of No Impact

During fieldwork, cases where archaeology seemed to have no impact at all became obvious. Such is the case of the representative of the local church in Dispilio who initially impeded the work and later the intellectual access of his flock to local archaeology for reasons other than archaeological ones. He claimed that the archaeologists disturbed the local community because they did not believe in God and that they employed a ceramist to 'manufacture' the archaeological finds, that, in reality, were 'nothing, rubbish'. His dispute with

the archaeologists reached the law courts twice and generated rumours of a threat that the archaeologists would demolish the church of the Ascension or that they would forbid the Fair that takes place on the Ascension Day, probably the most important event of the year in Dispilio, going many generations back. The state archaeologist responsible for the site denied that he or any staff of the Ephorate had ever made such statements or moves. The university archaeologist attributed this behaviour to the removal of the Ascencion Day Fair from the rear of the church (area perceived as church property), where the excavation was taking place, to an area in front of but outside the church premises. This resulted in a loss of income for the church, which used to rent space for benches for the duration of the almost week-long Fair.

The impact of this dispute might seem insignificant to anyone who has not experienced life in a community of 1,000 people, many of whom have little education and have few contacts with other communities. In such a context, the impact of the church representative multiplied, especially on women who according to local participants in their turn influenced their families. Although, overall such influences become insignificant in the pool of survey answers, very few participants in Dispilio distinguished between 'real and fake archaeology [that is happening here]'. Such comments with reference to an archaeological project conducted by one of the oldest departments of archaeology in the country, with the participation of numerous experts and researchers with affiliations to institutions from all over the world would strike anyone in terms of their backwardness.

5.2 The Public Values of Greek Archaeology

The ways the public values Greek archaeology were examined through elaboration of the results given in direct questions and in questions that regarded the advantages of living close to these archaeological sites. The ways the local administrations considered the values of these archaeological sites are also discussed.

In the direct question *do you believe that archaeology has value and if yes, what do you believe is the most important value archaeology has*, consensus among sites was striking and demonstrated a strongly embedded and geographically widespread belief in the historical-scientific value of archaeology, followed by the educational-intellectual and the social-cultural one (figure 79, table 75). Last in preferences came economic and political value.

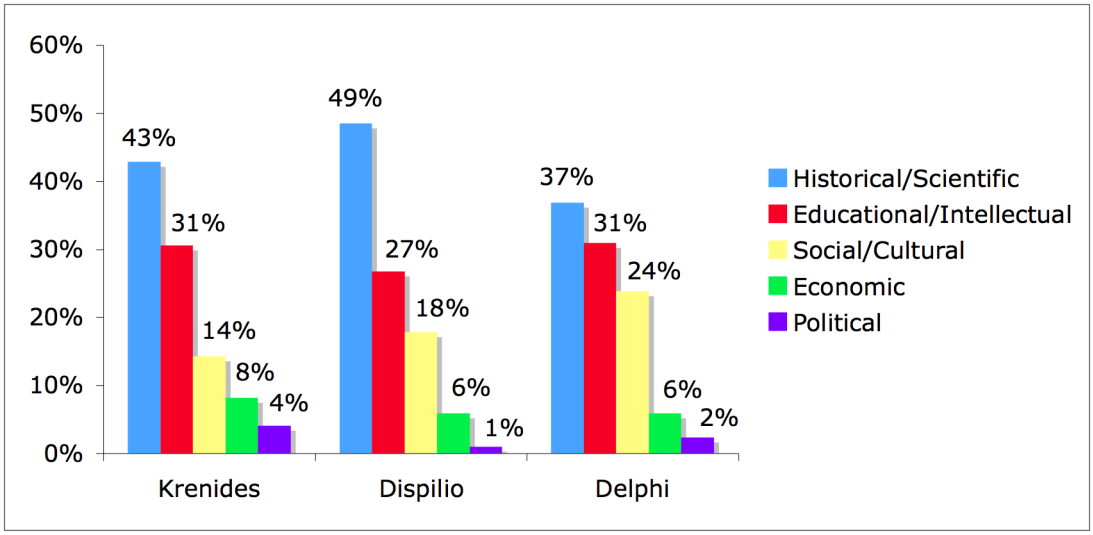

Figure 79 'Do you believe that archaeology has value and if yes, what do you believe is the most important value archaeology has?'

The dominance of the recognition of the importance of the historical-scientific value of archaeology is remarkable and serves as a confirmation of the dominant role of archaeology as a 'handmaiden of history' in public perceptions and of the perceived scientific profile of the discipline itself. It also

follows closely the findings of research in archaeological narratives in school textbooks and among students (see 2.2.5). This is combined with a high preference of all the intangible values over the economic one and the almost complete dismissal of any political value being attached to archaeology. It would be necessary to examine further what was actually included within each category to make more direct comparisons, but overall it appears that the results in these case studies were close to the ones from surveys conducted in other places. There, educational value came first and was followed by scientific and spiritual value. Monetary and political values were further down the spectrum although of greater significance than the Greek attributions (see 1.10).

In the case of Krenides, the value of archaeology correlated with the frequency of attendance to the Philippi Festival. More participants who were rare or infrequent attenders at the Festival attributed political and economic value to archaeology (figure 80, table 76). It is also noteworthy that more participants who attended the Festival about or more than once a year attributed social-cultural and educational-intellectual values.

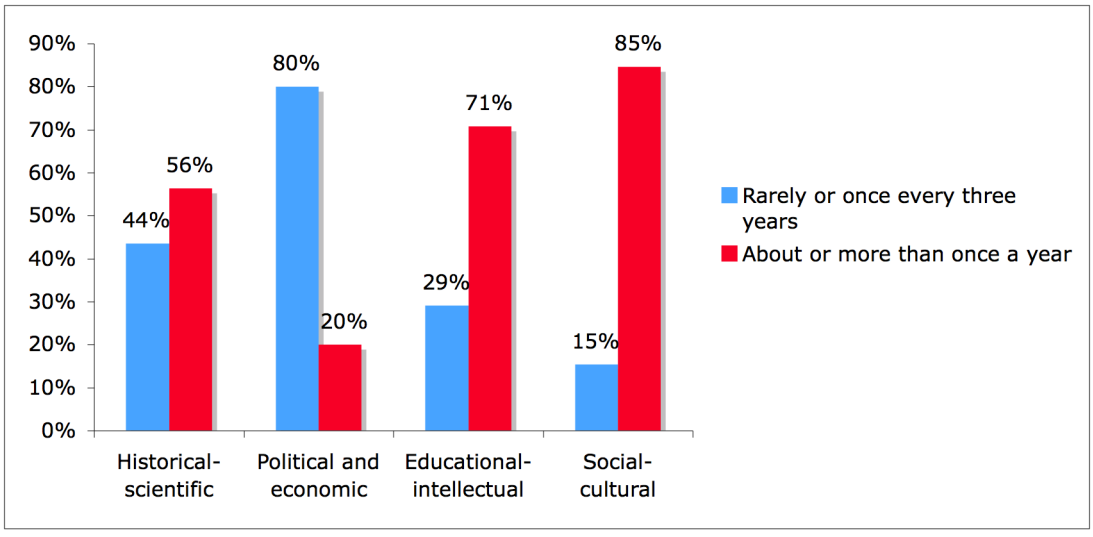

Figure 80 Value of archaeology by frequency of attendance to the Philippi Festival in Krenides (n= 86)

Participants offered a variety of answers to the question of archaeology's closest relation. The categories 'ancient art', 'life in the past' and 'national history' prevailed (figure 81, table 74). Given the strong connection of archaeology in Greece with national history and ancient art, one would find the high percentages of 'life in the past' surprising and indicating a better understanding of the discipline, in spite of the way the discipline promotes itself.

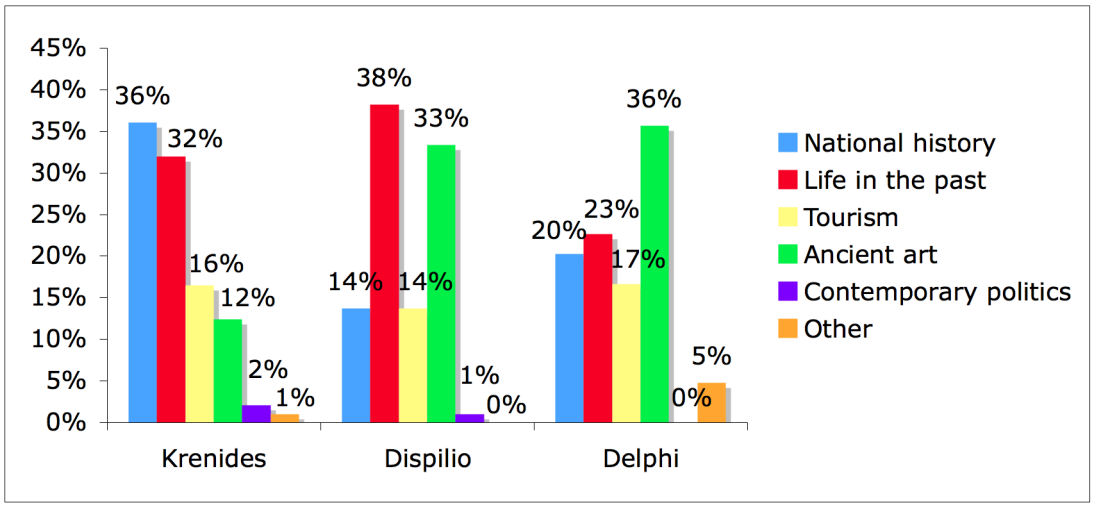

Figure 81 'What do you associate archaeology most closely with?'

The variety of responses among the case studies can be explained by the variety in the nature of the archaeological sites themselves and of the archaeology practiced at each. For instance, in Krenides, there is a strong connection with specific time periods of ancient Greek history. In Dispilio, a site that does not fit in the historical national narrative and where a more anthropological archaeology has been practiced, the prevalence of answers referring to life in the past is explained. Finally, at Delphi the emphasis on the achievements of ancient Greek art as exhibited in the museum and the site itself, bereft of any further context regarding religion or life in the city of Delphi explains the views that prevailed in the answers. It is noteworthy that no independent variable correlated with these answers.

The effect of the close relationship between archaeology and history in many western countries was demonstrated in surveys conducted in Canada and in Australia. Pokotylo and Guppy (1999) reported that three times as many participants perceived history as the disciplinary basis of archaeology than science and only 5% stated art. Balme and Willson (2004) reported that their respondents regarded Classical archaeology as the most important branch of the discipline (see 1.10).

An interesting contrast emerges from the comparison of results regarding values and relations with archaeology, with answers to the question on the advantages that derive from the proximity of the local communities to these archaeological sites. Tourism was by far most widely mentioned as an advantage of archaeology (figure 82, table 77).

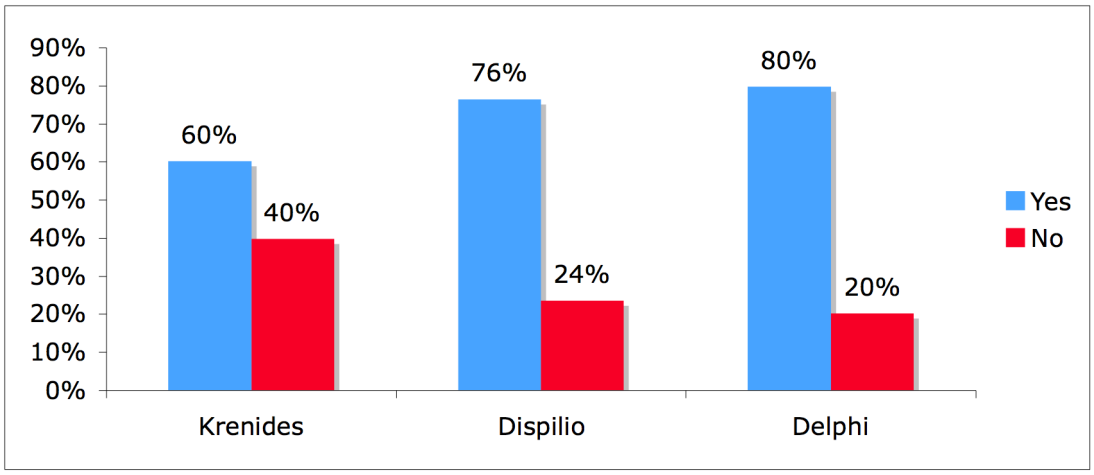

Figure 82 Tourism as advantage

These results clearly show that the gulf between the stated interest in archaeology (see 5.1.2), the value participants attributed to archaeology and their highest appreciation of its potential for tourist development can be potentially explained in terms of the absence of archaeology's relevance to Greeks today (see 5.1.2) for anything other than nationalistic reasons or a 'rhetoric' that overstates the value of archaeology expressed in exaggerated and

vague ways (see 5.6.3). Further correlations between the advantages of archaeology and several independent variables support this.

In Krenides, for example, more employed participants did not regard tourism as one of archaeology's advantages (figure 83, table 78). This result could be explained by the fact that the local economy in Krenides, as discussed above (see 5.1.4), turned to the services sector without benefiting from tourism and therefore was independent from it in terms of development. Tourism seemed thus irrelevant to employed participants.

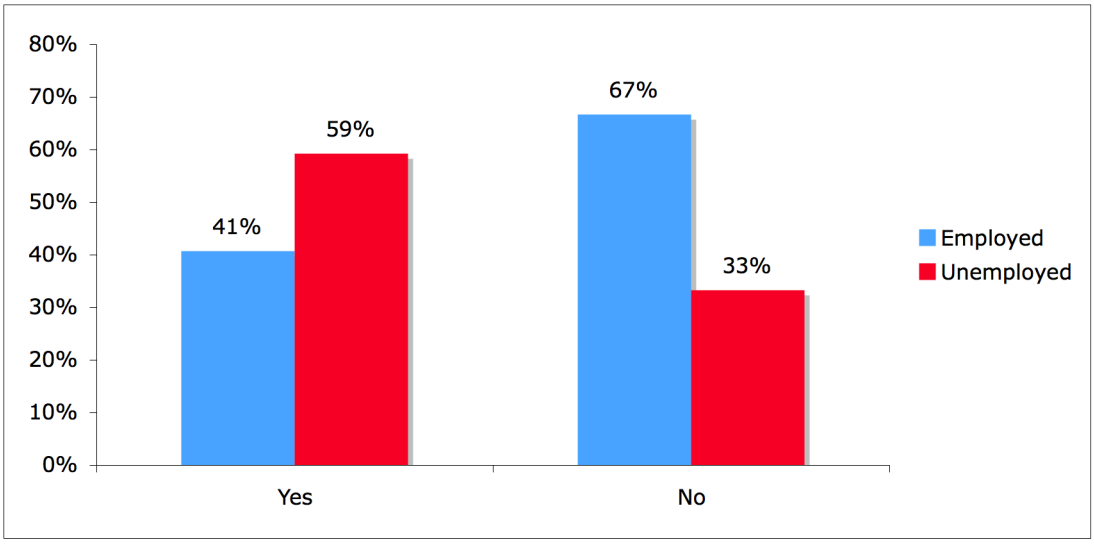

Figure 83 Tourism as advantage by employment condition in Krenides (n= 98)

In Dispilio, more participants with compulsory education or less did not appear to recognise tourism as archaeology's advantage (figure 84, table 79). Participants with more than compulsory education seemed to appreciate tourism more as an advantage of archaeology. However, the local economy in Dispilio has not developed a large service sector. Therefore, more educated participants perceived tourism as a potential income source.

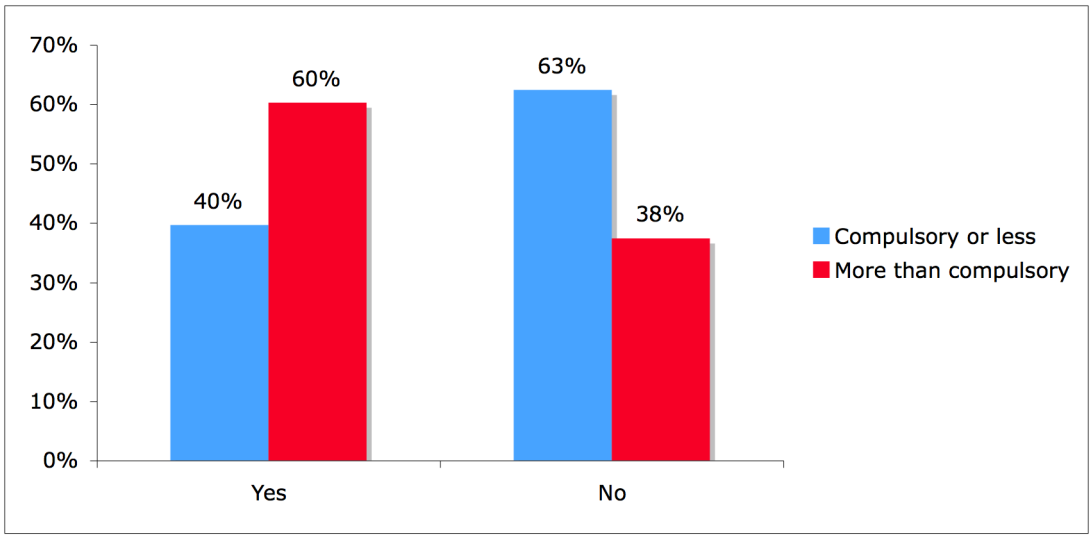

Figure 84 Tourism as advantage by educational level in Dispilio (n= 102)

In Dispilio, more participants who visited other archaeological sites or museums rarely or once every three years did not recognise tourism as one of archaeology's advantages (figure 85, table 80). This might be because, as infrequent tourists themselves, they did not consider tourism as particularly advantageous.

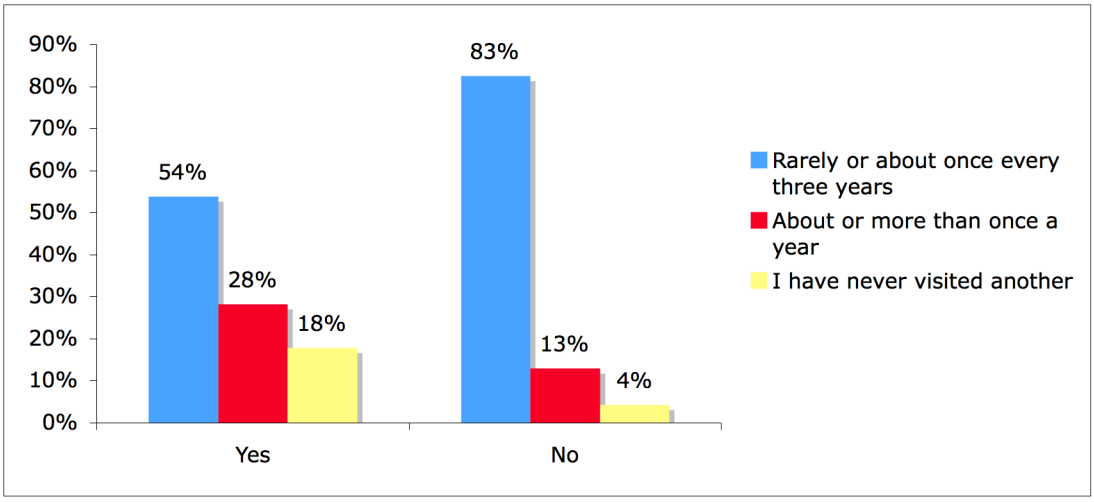

Figure 85 Tourism as advantage by frequency of visits to other arch. sites/museum in Dispilio (n= 101)

Other advantages mentioned were 'value, pride and advancement' (24% in Krenides, 21% in Dispilio, 5% in Delphi), 'publicity for the village' (22.5% in

Dispilio, 13% in Krenides, 12% in Delphi) and 'income generation' (22% in Dispilio, 11% in Krenides) 'employment for locals' (17% in Dispilio, 5% in Krenides, 2% in Delphi), 'research in local history and culture' (12% in Dispilio, 4% in Krenides), 'cultural events' (5% in Delphi), 'mobility of people' (16% in Delphi, 5% in Dispilio, 4% in Krenides), 'intellectual development' (7% in Delphi), 'scenic beauty' (3% in Krenides), 'spiritual health' (3.5% in Delphi), and 'financial stability' (2% in Delphi).

There was also a small but significant group (18% of participants in Krenides, 6% in Delphi and 5% in Dispilio) who stated that no or relatively few advantages resulted for the modern settlements.

In Dispilio, almost one fifth of participants mentioned employment for locals as one of archaeology's advantages. The answer correlated with the variables of gender, education and knowledge of 'Natura 2000'. The fact that Dispilio had the highest level of unemployment among the case studies, based on the 2001 national census (see table 1, in 5.1.4) might provide an explanation for these correlations and support the conclusion that participants evaluate archaeology according to what is more relevant to them.

Regarding gender, fewer female participants stated 'employment for the locals' as one of archaeology's advantages (figure 86, table 81). This result could be explained by the fact that workers employed at the excavation project in Dispilio are predominantly male. Therefore, employment is an issue that concerns male residents more.

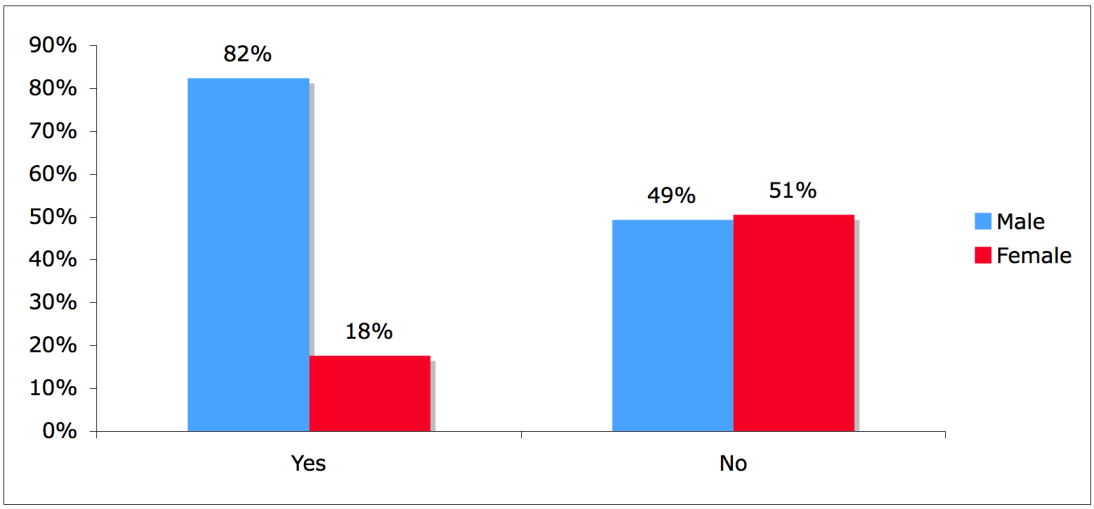

Figure 86 Local employment as advantage by gender in Dispilio (n= 102)

In terms of levels of educational attainment, more participants with compulsory education or less stated 'employment for the locals' as one of archaeology's advantages (figure 87, table 82). Again this result can be explained by the fact that it is mainly unspecialised workforce that is sought for in the local employment market and therefore employment in the excavation project tends to involve locals who have a relatively low level of educational attainment.

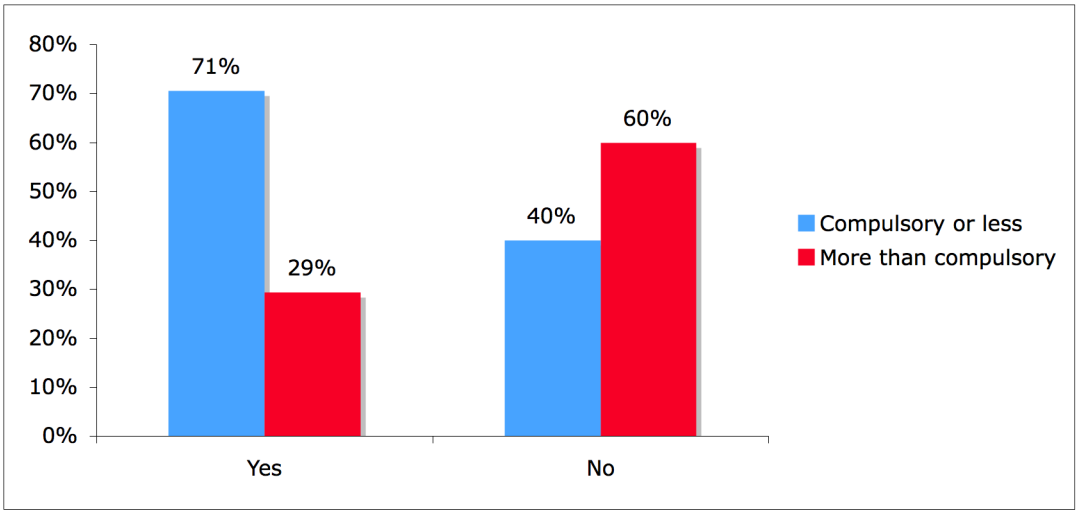

Figure 87 Local employment as advantage by educational level in Dispilio (n= 102)

Finally, regarding knowledge of 'Natura 2000', more participants who knew of 'Natura 2000' stated 'employment for the locals' as one of archaeology's

advantages (figure 88, table 83). Again this result demonstrated that those participants who were aware of the environmental network were those with broader awareness of their social environment and were sensitive to current issues of their community.

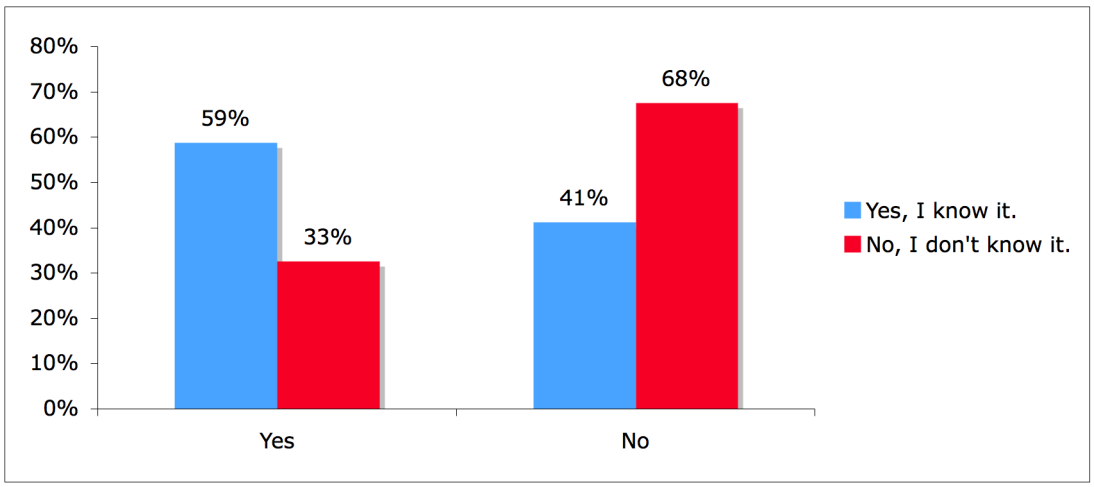

Figure 88 Local employment as advantage by knowledge of 'Natura 2000' in Dispilio (n= 100)

In an effort to group advantages under more general categories, answers such as tourism, mobility or foreign visitors, income and employment for locals were grouped under economic advantages, whilst value, pride, advancement, research in local history, culture and beauty or spiritual health were grouped under social-cultural. In addition, 'no advantages' or 'advantages for few' and 'I don't know' were grouped under no advantages.

In Krenides, employment condition correlated with socio-cultural advantages. More unemployed participants mentioned that they valued archaeology for adding value, conducting research, bringing culture and adding beauty to their settlement (figure 89, table 84); confirming the pattern that unemployed participants were more positively inclined towards archaeology.

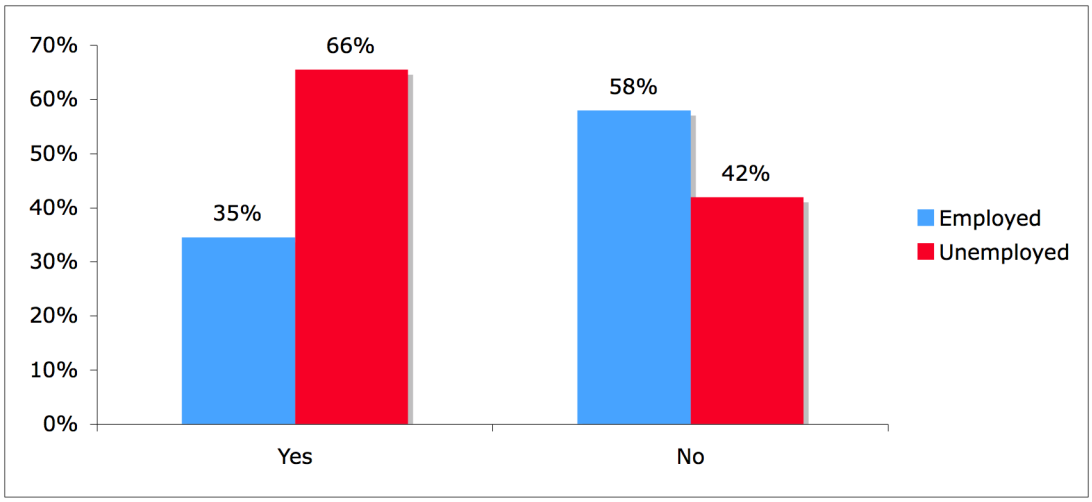

Figure 89 Socio-cultural advantages by employment condition in Krenides (n= 98)

In Dispilio, knowledge of 'Natura 2000' correlated with economic advantages. In other words, participants who knew of the network were likely to recognise the potential economic advantages (figure 90, table 85), reinforcing the profile of more environmentally aware participants as more sensitive to current issues of their community, one of which is the economic constraint that resulted from the decline in the fur industry.

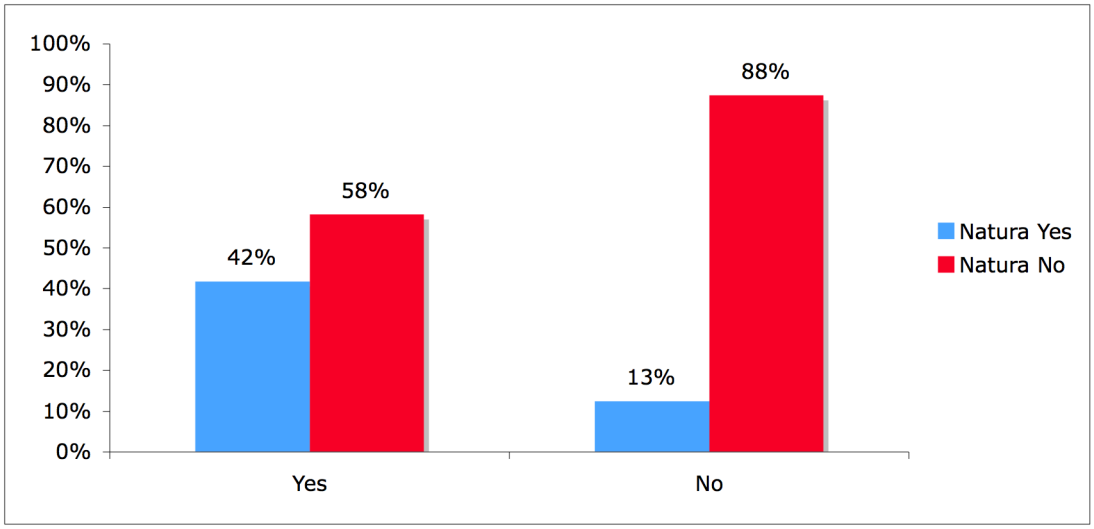

Figure 90 Economic advantages by knowledge of 'Natura 2000' in Dispilio (n= 100)

Again in Dispilio, gender correlated with socio-cultural advantages. More participants who mentioned value, pride and local research as advantages of

archaeology were female (figure 91, table 86); demonstrating again females as more positively inclined towards archaeology and more specifically its socio-cultural aspects.

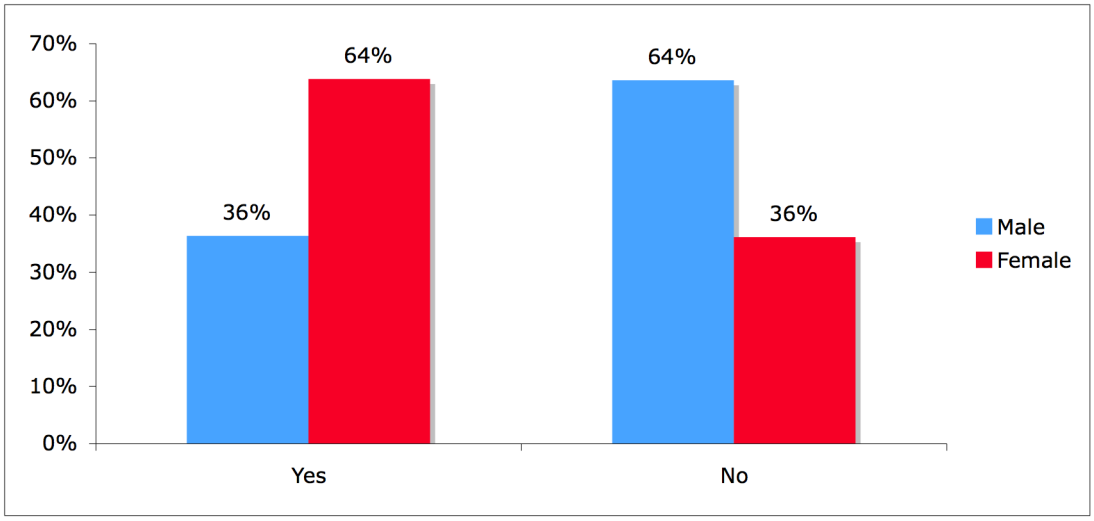

Figure 91 Socio-cultural advantages by gender in Dispilio (n= 102)

In Delphi, knowledge of the site's World Heritage status correlated with socio-cultural advantages. More participants who mentioned the intellectual, cultural and spiritual advantages of archaeology knew of the World Heritage status of Delphi (figure 92, table 87); demonstrating participants who appreciate the socio-cultural values of archaeology to be aware of their site's international relevance. This is an interesting point because it demonstrates statistically that the possession of World Heritage status may have some community significance.

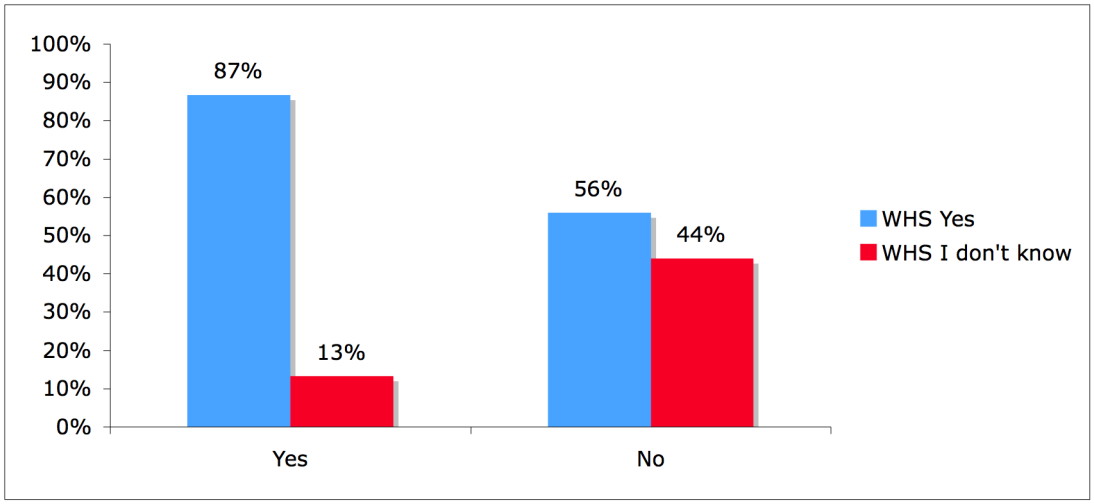

Figure 92 Socio-cultural advantages by knowledge of WHS in Delphi (n= 83)

When participants were asked about disadvantages that might result from the close proximity of modern day settlements to their archaeological sites, almost two thirds in Dispilio, one third in Krenides and only 12% in Delphi stated that there were no disadvantages or that disadvantages were unimportant (figure 93, table 88), prioritising thus the values of archaeology.

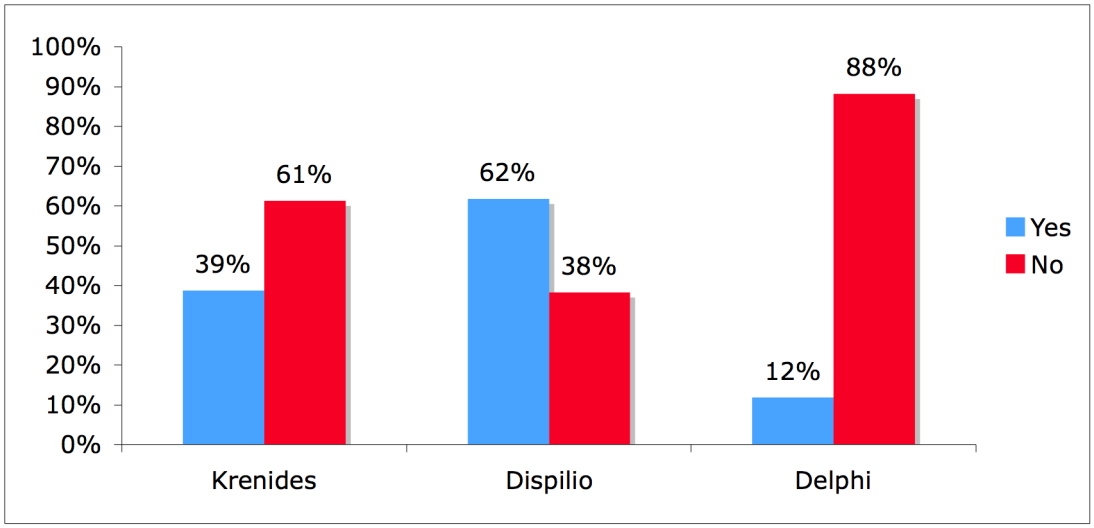

Figure 93 'Archaeology has no disadvantages'/ 'Disadvantages are unimportant'

The emerging pattern noted already (see 5.1.3) became increasingly clear: the shorter the period that archaeology — in terms of activity and sites has existed in an area — the less of a problem it is considered to be.

In Krenides, this view also correlated with gender. More participants who stated that there were no disadvantages are female (figure 94, table 89). This result again fits the pattern of female participants as more positively inclined towards archaeology than male (see, for example, in relation to relevance in 5.1.3).

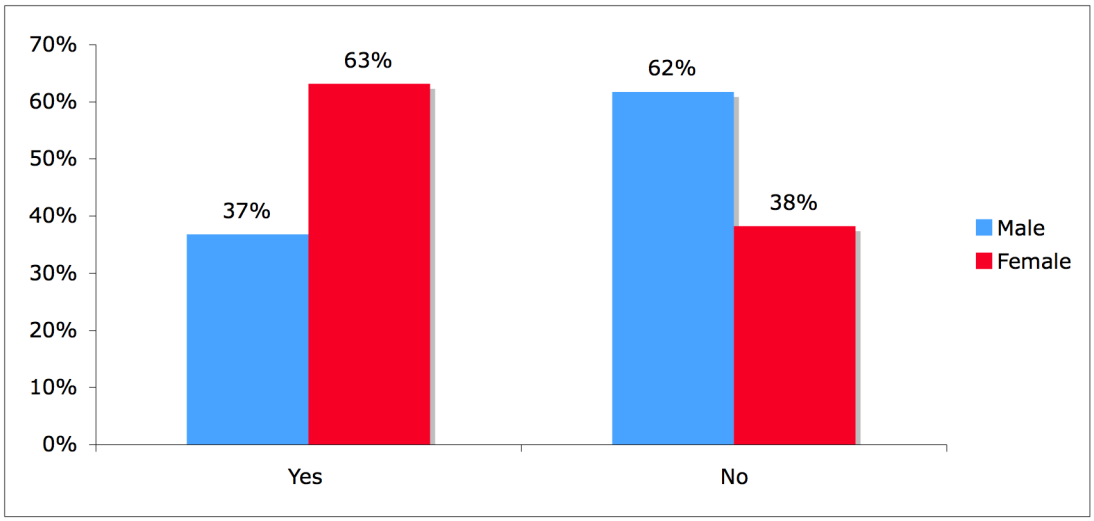

Figure 94 No disadvantages by gender in Krenides (n= 98)

Also in Krenides, the answer correlated with educational level. More participants with limited educational attainment stated that there were no disadvantages, in confirmation of the pattern of participants with less education as maintaining a more favourable view of archaeology (figure 95, table 90).

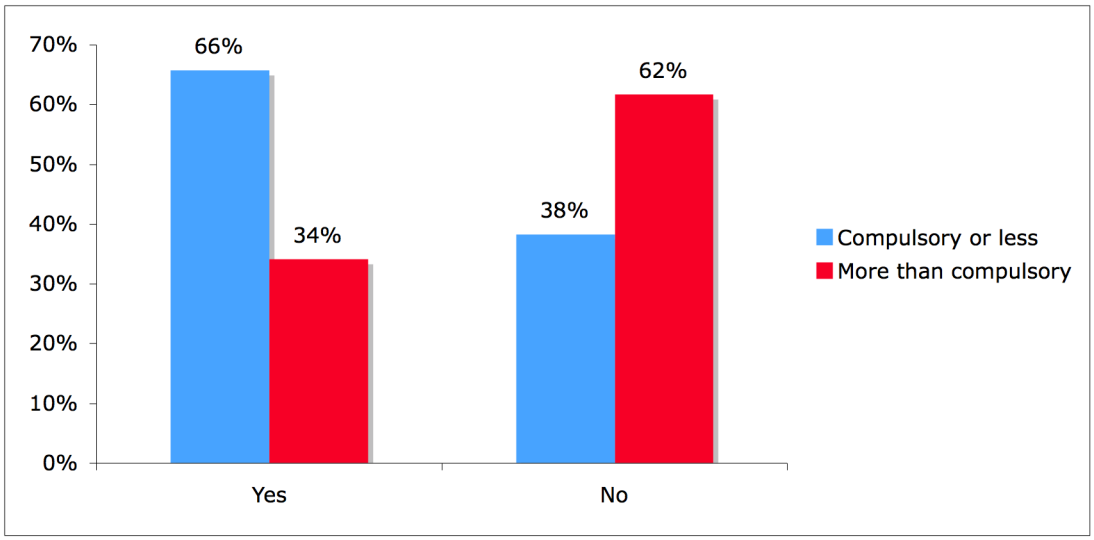

Figure 95 No disadvantages by educational level in Krenides (n= 98)

When looking at the local government of these communities, the representative of the Dispilio administration identified archaeology with culture, and elaborated on its contribution towards knowing one's roots and understanding one's life in the context of cultural continuity, through comparisons with the past. In a similar tone, the representative of the local administration in Krenides referred to the value of archaeology in offering solutions to the present by drawing examples from the past. However, both of them prioritised the developmental potential of archaeology through tourism as an alternative to the current local economy (see 5.1.4). Their opinions constitute another example of the divide between the value of archaeology in rhetorical terms and what archaeology is appreciated for in reality.

The foundation of HERAC in Krenides (see 4.1.1) and the problems encountered in the foundation of a museum in Dispilio offer two examples of the materialisation or not of the public value of archaeology. The case of HERAC demonstrates how the public value of archaeology is better realised and embraced when local communities are allowed to materialise the potential of archaeological heritage. A representative of the Association of Friends of the

Lake Settlement in Dispilio confirmed this conclusion when she said that if local people cared enough and really wanted a museum, the museum would have been founded by now. This is another example of the distinction between the rhetoric used and the reality concerning culture.

Similarly, there is a distinction between what value archaeologists attribute to their discipline and what other people do. The representative of the Association of Greek Archaeologists said that, for state archaeologists, the primary value of archaeology is the social and cultural one, although they realise that archaeology has other values as well, just as important, such as an economic one. The university archaeologist in Philippi attributed local administrations' interest in archaeology to their understanding of the value of archaeology as a historical and scientific resource; unaware of the primacy accorded to archaeology, as expressed by the local administration's representatives, of its developmental potential (see above). A Director of an Ephorate mentioned culture as the primary value of archaeology but soon afterwards he mentioned its economic value in terms of tourism. Although archaeologists are aware of the divide between how they perceive their work and how the public perceives it, they take this division for granted and do not realise that it is something they need to take action on, especially because they have the law on their side and potentially have more power to effect change.

Other aspects of the public values attributed to archaeology have already been developed as part of the discussion on the associations of archaeology, its mission, the place of ancient Greek civilisation in world history and the significance of the monuments of the past for the Greek national identity (see 5.1.2).

Changes in the public values of archaeology

Aspects of different values attributed to archaeology have been demonstrated already in the discussion above. Correlations between age and the impression from the last visit to the archaeological site in Krenides, the feeling of ancestry, and the awareness of environmental value in Dispilio highlighted a disparity of opinions attributable to the different life-cycle stage of participants, but most importantly, the different socio-political and economic conditions within which participants formulated their perceptions (see the psychological and cultural approaches discussed in 1.10). It has been seen that younger participants were more critical regarding the condition of the archaeological site of Philippi, did not feel that the people who lived in Dispilo from the Neolithic onwards were their ancestors, and were more aware of the environmental value of their area.

To the extent that legislation is considered to reflect current public concerns, at least as far as the legislators see their role as such, the inclusion in the Constitution of the individual right to protection and conservation (see 2.1.4) is supportive of this. It expresses awareness that protection and conservation require public support, echoing the first calls by McGimsey (1972) for a public archaeology in the United States (see 1.4). Greek archaeologists have also realised this requirement and have publicly acknowledged that Greek archaeology has to change from state to public archaeology (Athanasoulis 2007: 28).

Archaeologists with long service identified a series of changes when they were interviewed. The representative of the Association of Greek Archaeologists talked about the dynamic of archaeology in time. He believed that its political value is decreasing in importance while the economic one is increasing. He also agreed that the socio-cultural value has changed as a result of the decrease in political value, combined with the lack of fulfillment of the state's obligations in

the protection and conservation of the archaeological resource, but also because of the improvement of the educational level of people in Greece. These developments contributed to a different approach to engaging with the past, not as much through the formal ways of the Archaeological Service, but through participation in NGOs and other cultural associations.

In contrast to this opinion, the university archaeologist in Philippi believed that the social and cultural role of archaeology is withering and attributed this to the neglect of younger people for culture. He was convinced that older generations appreciated archaeology more and the social status of archaeology and archaeologists was greater in the past. An Assistant Director of an Ephorate also pointed out a change in the appreciation of the economic value of archaeology as an employer due to the younger generations' preference for a working place at the local cafeteria rather than the archaeological trench. She also identified a change in the people's attitude because they now accept archaeology as a 'necessary evil' and collaborate better with archaeologists.

However, as a member of the excavation team in Dispilio noted, it might be too soon to expect changes in people's attitudes and explained this view in the context of the slow social and economic development of Macedonia in the twentieth century (see also 2.1.2). On the other hand, another member of the team believed that the way local people received them and associated with them had improved greatly over time, starting from appreciating them as individuals and slowly shifting to an understanding of their work as well. Finally, the Director of another Ephorate referred to the increase of municipalities' interest in collaborating with the Archaeological Service thanks to its economic potential and again an improvement of people's educational level.

A final comment in relation to the point in time when archaeology appeared in each local case study should be made here. In Delphi, the local community developed over the same time period as the archaeological work in the area, mainly after the Second World War. In Krenides, there has never been much connection other than employment and expropriation issues, therefore archaeology is only now on the rise as a potential for local development. In Dispilio, archaeology appeared in the 1990s when its developmental aspect had become quite evident although the locals, as individuals or as a community, do not know how or hesitated to develop its potential.

5.3 Greek Archaeology: Aims and Objectives

5.3.1 Introduction

The archaeological law sets seven objectives for the management of archaeological resources in Greece (see 2.1.4). They can be summarised under two main aims: the first relating to protection and conservation, and the second to presentation and interpretation. The following discussion attempts a critical investigation of how archaeologists perceive these aims and whether they believe that they are achieving them, especially in relation to the public nature of the resource and its management.

5.3.2 Protection and Conservation

In the case of protection and conservation, the law refers first to the 'location, research, recording, documentation and study of the elements of cultural heritage', secondly, to the 'preservation and prevention of destruction, disfigurement or in general any kind of damage, direct or indirect to it', thirdly, to the 'prevention of illegal excavation, theft and illegal export', and fourthly, to 'its conservation and, in appropriate circumstances, restoration' (article 3, Law no. 3028/2002).

Interviews with archaeologists demonstrated that protection and conservation are their primary concerns and priorities, to the extent that it is not possible for them to engage with anything else. The blanket protection envisaged by the Constitution and the archaeological law means that the Archaeolgoical Service has been, theoretically at least, assigned a huge role, since the 1950s when development began to increase. Implementation of protection and conservation is attempted through an extensive bureaucratic structure that generates a significant workload that most archaeologists referred to in their interviews.

Some mentioned bureaucracy as the biggest problem Greek archaeology is currently faced with: most of them brought it up as the main reason why it is impossible to undertake further initiatives, other than protection and conservation measures. Responding to citizens' permit requests and all other controls along with the subsequent paperwork results in a limitation of the resources available to the Archaeological Service for pursuing the presentation and interpretation that will be discussed below.

Also, according to a Head of Sector in the Ministry, there are still archaeologists who believe that archaeological monuments and sites should not be used for cultural events because of conservation issues (see 2.1.4). The reason for the prioritisation of conservation over use seems to be because the archaeological resource's protection and conservation is a prerequisite for the achievement of any further presentation and interpretation.

However, the fact is that the pressure of the requirement for applying conservation measures clearly has resulted in neglecting consideration of further aims and objectives. The primacy accorded to protection and conservation work over any other requirements has also affected the archaeologists' approach to the system, and has created a restricted concentration upon, and restricted understanding of, the full range of the potential field of protection and conservation. After all, effective and sustainable protection and conservation cannot be achieved without presentation and interpretation, no matter how strict a law is.

Further evidence from the interviews conducted demonstrated that this primacy of protection and conservation, recognised as a common feature throughout the history of Greek archaeology (Hourmouziadis 1990), is mainly a result of the fact that this is from where archaeologists' authority and power is

derived. The aims of protection and conservation constitute the core of the archaeologists' perspective and their professional and disciplinary identity, one that is expressed in forceful terms.

In the words of the representative of the Association of Greek Archaeologists, 'we [archaeologists] serve the monuments and the discipline of archaeology. We do not serve anything else. Consequently we judge everything on the basis of a specific parameter: if this model can work better for the monuments themselves'. Of course monuments do not have a way of communicating what works better for them but it is up to the archaeologists, the self-proclaimed 'servants of the monuments', to decide what this is. Therefore this discourse is used to conceal the fact that archaeologists decide what works better for the monuments, that is, what works better for themselves. What archaeologists refer to as a *monument-centric* system of protection is in reality an *archaeologist-centric* one. The representative became even more explicit: 'every scientist who loves antiquities and this is his/her work and this is the reason why he/she studied…it has to do with the way we believe that we best serve the protection of the monuments and the discipline of archaeology'.

It is important and significant to note that this attitude appears in the way all archaeologists referred to their work and reflects an underlying bias that anything outside the discipline, such as the public, is a potential threat to the archaeological resource. Even archaeologists who seemed to be more aware of the importance of communication of the discipline (such as one Director of an Ephorate who had been very active in organising public events), prioritised the narrow application of protection and conservation when it came to acknowledging the concerns of the local community over what they consider as their local heritage. When asked about the community's concerns, the archaeologist did not give a direct answer. Instead he reversed the question and

stated his opinion of the ways in which the local heritage threatened the archaeological resource. With his answer, the Director imposed his approach to the archaeological resource as the only valid one and dismissed emphatically local concern over what is perceived by the community as heritage significant to them.

Overall, none of the archaeologists interviewed exhibited an understanding of the local community's perspective. This implies that the exclusive application of protection and conservation, through the controlling and restrictive mechanism of the Greek management of archaeological resources, is seen as the only possible way to deal with those resources. This represents a widely shared perception inherent in archaeologists' professional identity in Greece, one shaped through education and work (see also Davis 2002 regarding the educational and professional context of archaeologists' formation).

One would expect that enjoying such forceful defence and support, the protection and conservation of archaeological resources would be a successful endeavour in Greece, and indeed there are archaeologists who see it as such. The Head of a Directorate in the Ministry stated that cultural heritage is effectively protected in Greece thanks to the current system that she regarded as an exemplar of state-centred protection, where all resources are provided by the state. Also the representative of the Association of Greek Archaeologists claimed that the Archaeological Service successfully combined the work of protection and conservation with the necessary research in accordance to the system's structure, and that in turn the Service's scientific production in Classical and Byzantine studies is by far the greatest in the world in comparison to any other organisation.

Contrasting views came from another state archaeologist, a Head of Sector in the Ministry. She referred to a pointless, extremely bureaucratic and narrowly applied mechanism that never reaches conclusive results, meets specific targets or answers to prescribed policies for the implementation of a strategy with a certain direction. The rest of the interview concentrated on the nature of an uninspiring system without a sense of meaning behind it, driven by management priorities as defined by time, financial and other pressures influenced by outside factors, including the political leadership. In the end, she summarised protection as the inscription of a monument in the National Archive of Monuments and whatever else the Ephorates could do considering their scarce resources.

It is noteworthy that questions on the meaning of protection and the reasons why the state has taken it up constantly caused awkwardness with interviewees. These reactions, along with the overall way archaeologists described and discussed their work, clearly revealed that archaeologists assumed as given the actual reasons why their work is important and relevant. As a result they seemed unable to convincingly elaborate on them any further. Instead, they provided an enumeration of the provisions, among others, listing, inscribing and archiving. A member of the Dispilio excavation team, for example, expressed certainty that the local community was only capable of understanding the economic benefit of archaeology and did not even think of the importance of making other reasons explicit to them, such as the reasons why archaeologists practice the discipline.

It is clear that a major explanation for the wide range of opinions regarding the management of archaeological resources and its effectiveness is the lack of any concrete data and evaluation of the archaeological work on the basis of specific criteria. When a Head of Sector in the Ministry was asked about evaluation she

admitted that only summative data are available on visitor numbers and activities, such as the number of photography permits issued, and expenses of Ephorates. Even these hide several inconsistencies that render them practically unusable, as became clear after an electronic communication with the responsible department of the Ministry. They are not even evaluated by the Archaeological Service itself, as the same interviewee in the Ministry admitted. Apart from this, evaluation in accordance with targets has not been considered as far as the state archaeologists interviewed were concerned.

Within this research project, the role of the state in running a system that stems from the value of archaeology as a public good is not challenged. What is challenged is the way it is implemented and the attitudes that have been nurtured from it, that is, the consequences of the way this system has been implemented. This thesis endorses archaeology as a public resource, and therefore also public archaeology from within a state-run system for the management of archaeological resources in true fulfillment of the Greek Constitution.

5.3.3 Presentation and Interpretation

It is clear that in the last twenty years there have been increasing efforts to widen accessibility to archaeological sites and museums (see 2.2.2 and 2.2.3). Under presentation and interpretation, the archaeological law includes: first, 'facilitation of access to and communication of the public with cultural heritage'; second, 'its enhancement and integration into contemporary social life'; and third, 'education, aesthetic enjoyment and public awareness of the cultural heritage' (article 3, Law no.3028/2002). A clear change in official attitudes is marked (see 2.1.4).

State archaeologists often admitted during their interviews that it was important that their work 'returns' to the public. The commonest way of claiming this was happening was in terms of more museums and museum exhibitions opening. The representative of the Association of Greek Archaeologists even admitted that the *monument-centric* approach adopted so far was mistaken and he believed that the approach of the Archaeological Service was now changing to a *visitor-centric* one. He elaborated on this by saying that:

> We [archaeologists] understand that without the citizens, the visitors...those in general who go to an archaeological site and to a monument to entertain themselves, monuments do not exist, archaeological sites do not exist. They exist only through their visitor. Consequently our policies tend to... turn more to the visitor so that the monument itself is benefited.

This opinion contradicts the statement of the same interviewee, mentioned above, regarding the criteria by which archaeology is practiced (5.3.2) and reduces his opinion to 'cultural rhetoric' (see 5.6.3) employed according to what best suits the argument. Several notable initiatives have been sporadic and relied on individuals' good will and effort (e.g. Wedde 1995). However, presentation and interpretation have never been the subject of a central strategy, not even in the most basic form of museums' foundation policies (Hourmouziadi 2006; Voudouri 2003).

An archaeologist in the Ministry referred to the inclusion of lecture theatres in recently founded museums as a central choice regarding the kind of museums the Archaeological Service envisages for the future. She did not realise that this central choice reflects the kind of public the Archaeologcal Service envisages,

that is, an audience rather than an engaged interlocutor. In the same way, the long and descriptive texts in museums, full of jargon and lacking context, reflect the hope expressed by the same interviewee that 'the more they read, the more they will understand'. This total failure to consider the public's perspective has already accounted for a majority of Greek archaeological museums' irrelevance to the public: they have been organised on the grounds that 'artifacts speak for themselves' and 'masterpieces narrate our history' (see Gazi 1993; Gratziou 1985; and 2.2.2). Archaeologists very rarely grasp the fact that lack of effective interpretation coupled with art-historical approaches to the archaeological resources has rendered them illegible to non-experts and thus irrelevant.

The perception that presentation and interpretation are concerns that lie at the periphery of the archaeologist's actual duties is also critical to this discussion. Most archaeologists made clear during the interviews, either consciously or unconsciously, that they regarded presentation and interpretation activities as 'extra burdens'. They considered them to be 'on top' of their actual duties and, therefore, optional, or 'a waste of time'. The common reason they offered when they were asked why they did not organize more activites for public engagement was lack of time and the size of their existing workload. They do not regard presentations in conferences in the same way. Such presentations are considered as closely connected to their professional duties.

Several misapprehensions were also noted regarding the role and the meaning of presentation and interpretation, often regarded as public relations or as simple announcements of finds. A quote by Dinsmoor ('the building when restored forms a publication in itself', quoted in Mallouchou-Tufano 1998: 315) has also laid the ground for another commonly used and intentionally exaggerated argument in defence of Greek archaeology. As the representative of the Association of Greek Archaeologists stated, any work on an ancient

monument, i.e. keeping an archaeological site clean or restoration, contributes to public engagement because it makes the monument legible. Although this may be partly true, limiting the meaning of presentation and interpretation to cleaning works, restoration and other infrastructure conceals and ignores the fact that there are no means, resources or will for actual interpretation and engagement. Finally, it also underlines the attitude of archaeologists to do what they find 'fitting for the monuments' without considering a wider potential clientele.

It is worth noting that these conclusions apply not only to state archaeologists but seem to be a widely shared perception on presentation and interpretation among all archaeologists in Greece. As the university archaeologist in Dispilio stated (one of the most media-friendly university archaeologists), even university archaeologists rely on their projects for their academic promotion while also exhibiting contempt for mass media and popularised versions of archaeology. Thus they too neglect the significance of making the outcome of their research public, not even for reasons of financial reciprocity.

Outside state archaeological management, the archaeological team in Dispilio made a series of efforts to engage with the local community that according to the members of the team, have not paid off (see 4.2.1). As one of them said, they had none of the results reported by foreign researchers. Results were more or less the same as those of other archaeological teams in Greece, 'indifference, negative attitude and small-scale destructions'. The university archaeologist in Dispilio is known for his concern for presentation and interpretation and for the earliest museum exhibition of the Neolithic culture in Greece (Hourmouziadi 2006: 82).

A group of his associates took up his concern in Dispilio and worked for the preparation of the exhibition space at the excavation's workshop and the Ecomuseum. During interviews with them, the impression gained was that they engaged with public archaeology because this project offered them an opportunity for experimentation rather than because they were particularly interested in engaging with the local community of Dispilio. As one of them said:

> It is a clearly social matter, that is, the people who move around the excavation are strangers with the people. They are strangers not only because they originate from elsewhere or because they come from elsewhere, because they have other experiences, different given, different interests, different values and you cannot, let's say, develop a relationship beyond the excavation context in every day. That is, if you go to the coffee shop there is nothing to say. You'll say, it's cold, it's hot, what else is new? Full stop. Therefore, we are a foreign body. That is, you may have the feeling of familiarity and say good morning, good evening to 100 people but nothing more.

This approach to the local community has nothing in common with the one advocated in recent literature regarding archaeologists' interest and concern in the community's present and its preoccupations (see 2.2.7; Stroulia 2002; Stroulia and Sutton 2009).

Other members of the team in Dispilio were particularly concerned with engaging the local community in archaeology. They did not differentiate themselves as much from the local community and often made comparisons, during their interviews, between their own life in the small communities they came from and life in Dispilio. They maintained closer relationships to a

broader range of locals and they were the ones locals turned to when they wanted to complaint.

The archaeological project in Dispilio represents only one of many archaeological projects in Greece. Its activities have set an example and contributed to the advancement of the field. However, the motivation behind the initiatives taken and the effort to build personal relationships did not help achieve what should have been the main goal, the engagement of the local community with archaeological practice. A consistent pattern in their actions was innovation rather than adaptation. Although interviews with members of the team and their work showed that they were aware of the local community's particularities, they did not seem to consider them. They had not even considered the current 'cultural landscape' of the community.

Regarding effectiveness in the presentation and interpretation of archaeology, the representative of the Association of Greek Archaeologists admitted that absolutely nothing had been achieved. He felt that this was explained by the mentality of archaeologists and the old-fashioned education they received. Indeed, although he said that archaeologists' most basic tool is the sensitisation of the public, he maintained the archaeologist-centred approach: 'we study, manage and mediate with the public'. This demonstrated the lack of a realisation on the part of archaeologists of the fact that making their work public is the critical step for the sustainable achievement of their objectives and for the ethical and democratic management of archaeological resources in accordance to the Constitution. They did not seem to realise that the way archaeological management is pursued does not allow for the public to understand, participate and achieve what the Constitution describes as 'everyone's right' to the protection of cultural heritage. Instead they projected a

self-centred and top-down approach that was possibly likely to destroy any potential for ensuring that archaeology might be public.

5.4 Strategies for Reciprocity

5.4.1 Introduction

Issues that were presented in the previous sections of this analysis are further discussed here, in terms of their potential contribution to a more reciprocal relationship between archaeology and local communities.

What became obvious in the process of research and analysis for this thesis was that the issue at stake is not the foundation of more museums or the organisation of more public events. There are a substantial number of museums or other occasions where Greek archaeology has a public interface (see 2.2). It is a question of a redefinition of the interface in qualitative terms. What is important is the establishment of a central policy for the presentation and interpretation of archaeology and a shift in the approach by archaeologists that will allow for a more effective engagement with the public.

Theoretically, and also based on evidence, broader changes in fields that have been discussed so far would impact massively on archaeological resource management and its public interface:

- abolition of clientele politics (see 2.1.5 and 5.3.2);
- clarification of jurisdiction overlaps (see 2.1.4);
- elimination of contradictory legislative acts (see 2.1.4);
- introduction of evaluation (see 5.3.2);
- targeting sustainability (see 1.8-9);
- establishment of public consultation and fostering a culture of collaboration (see Chapter One);

- setting a consistent cultural policy, as well as promoting a change in the approach of the public towards recognising that nationhood comes with obligations that transcend the right to private property.

These are not the sole responsibility of the Archaeological Service.

The aim should be for Greek archaeologists to achieve a self-awareness and perspective that will allow them to realise the contemporary and changing relevance of the field as perceived by the people and not from the archaeologists' perspective. It is clearly necessary to communicate the relevance of archaeology effectively to the rest of the society and the political leadership, which is apparently responsible for some of the biggest problems and therefore their solution.

5.4.2 Economic Reciprocity

Employment of local workforces and cultural tourism emerged as the main strategies through which archaeology can benefit economically local communities. However none of them was found to operate at its full potential in the case studies (see 5.1.4).

Employment opportunities with archaeological projects should be increased and reinforced with more competitive wages in order to attract younger workers, as interviews with archaeologists have revealed that this is the basic reason for the lack of a sufficient workforce. The establishment of specialised crafts workshops active in a wider geographical area should be pursued and sustained through long-term planning of restoration works under central co-ordination. Interviews with archaeologists showed how such workshops used to exist within the Archaeological Service but were eliminated for financial

reasons. A similar policy could be implemented for specialist archaeologists and conservators.

In the field of cultural tourism, the merger of the Ministries of Culture and Tourism offered a unique potential for the development of cultural tourism for the benefit of local economies and of the monuments at the same time (see 2.1.5). The implementation of visitor management plans developed through participatory planning with the collaboration of central and local stakeholders is necessary for the creation of quality services at a competitive level that will also mobilise local productivity, thus enhancing all the sectors of local economy and creating a greater variety of employment opportunities for younger generations with high levels of specialisation and qualifications. As interviews with local administration representatives showed, neither the administrators nor locals were aware of exactly how to utilise and capitalise on the developmental aspect of the archaeological resources. Greek archaeologists need to facilitate such efforts.

In terms of economic relevance, increasingly archaeologists all over the world realise the need to embrace and understand the field of economics and understand better the way investments in archaeology and culture benefit private, local and national economies. A Head of a Directorate at the Ministry stated that Greek archaeological management is far from understanding and putting to good use private sponsorships and donations, or even volunteer work.

5.4.3 Social Reciprocity

Recent years have seen a great increase in the founding of provincial museums by the Archaeological Service (see 2.2.2). It is time, following their opening, to

inaugurate a management framework for their operation within cultural tourism and more importantly, through local social alliances. Provincial museums constitute a great opportunity for the development of sponsorship and volunteer programmes. Local cultural associations, school groups, parents' and elderly associations could be organisers and participants in seminars, presentations, workshops, exhibitions, oral history projects and other cultural activities for adults, children or family activities hosted in local museums. Such activities need not necessarily relate immediately to archaeology but can be of a general relevance to the local community or a specific group within it. They would rather enforce the feeling of accessibility and appropriation of the local archaeological resource.

In the same vein, measures such as free entrance for the local community should be enforced everywhere because they reinforce the sense of ownership of the site by the local community with great impact on their sense of place and local identity.

Finally, when archaeologists plan public events for a specific local community, it is necessary to take into account the cultural landscape of the area. Instead of trying to take it over and reinvent local identity, it would be more fruitful to engage with it. What better opportunity for the archaeologists in Dispilo than to keep their workshop open during the Ascension Fair (see 5.1.7) and organise children's events specifically aimed at the people who would come to Dispilio during these days, thus demonstrating to the local community that they are willing to engage with local customs and habits?

5.4.4 Political Reciprocity

Political reciprocity will come only after a change in the quality of interpretation and the various ways in which the significance and relevance of the past are communicated to people. This is particularly important in the spheres of public education and site presentation and interpretation and will need to be a long-term programme. All these require close collaboration of archaeologists with historians and educators as well as a constant effort to feed state management of archaeological resources with the most recent results of research, therefore, a close collaboration with national and international educational and research institutes under central co-ordination. Broader collaboration with the media could bring results with greater impact.

5.4.5 A Change in Mentalities

However, as long as archaeologists perceive public archaeology as nothing more than public relations or a necessary evil at the end of a research project, none of the museums, the presentations or the educational programmes will make a difference. In fact, none of the problems that Greek archaeologists now prioritise can be solved unless they can prove the relevance of their work to contemporary society.

Greek archaeology has achieved its best condition ever in terms of resources. With more permanent employees and Ephorates than ever before, at least the Archaeological Service can monitor, if not implement, conservation (see 2.1.5). With hundreds of other archaeologists employed in public works, Greek archaeology can be said to have finally caught up with development. With a considerable share of CSF funds the Archaeological Service's mechanism has been put back to work. However, the redundancy of thousands of archaeologists working under short-term contracts as well as the likelihood of

not getting a share of the 4th CSF demonstrates how fragile this prosperity is. The only way to achieve access to financial and human resources and sustainable protection and conservation is by explaining in simple terms why archaeology is important; how protection and conservation of the archaeological resource benefits the people.

Archaeological education especially at university level needs to move towards fields that bring archaeology to the centre of current affairs, such as museum and public archaeology studies. This could mean management courses, courses on economics, creative writing (e.g. literature, scenarios for the media, such as radio shows, documentaries etc.), popular writing, anthropological theory and methods, visitor studies, marketing and education.

The Archaeological Service could come up with new approaches to publicise events for the public that would reach and appeal to as many and as varied interests as possible and to communicate their content in as simple and intellectually accessible a way as to have the deepest and broadest impact possible. The Archaeological Service employs excellent archaeologists, with the highest qualifications and abilities in their specialisation, which unfortunately does not also guarantee that they are the most suitable people for the dissemination of their knowledge. Some may enjoy or despise contact with non-archaeologists, when it comes to their job. More would be able to, after they learned how to communicate their discipline to a series of different audiences, while others would rather collaborate with a public archaeologist on how to achieve quality of content (e.g Fagan 1977; McManamon 2000).

Although every archaeologist needs to understand the value of engaging the public in his or her work, not everybody needs to actually do it. It is important that museum and field archaeologists realise the need to turn to specialised

colleagues, e.g. a museologist, a museum educator or a community archaeologist, instead of believing that they are equipped and qualified to do everything themselves. It is this mentality that has led to aesthetically pleasant but intellectually illegible archaeological museum exhibitions so far. It has also led to a narrow understanding of protection and conservation that rejects anything that does not stem from the 'sacred' nature of antiquities but instead represents a more profane aspect of it.

The most important change in the approaches that archaeologists adopt is to realise that people do not take for granted protection and conservation of antiquities and therefore they need to be convinced of its value every step of the way. The public needs to be convinced of this and of the benefits that archaeology can bring again and again.

State archaeologists clearly are aware of these issues and face them in their everyday duties, as interviews with them demonstrated. However, in many cases the sensible approach is not the most feasible one in the current highly complex management system (see 2.1.5). A rationalisation of the system of management is long overdue which clearly will require the re-engineering of the management structure: one that will begin with rationalisation of the current services potentially by merging Ephorates under one service. This is a change that has been talked about for many years already within the Archaeological Service.

Within Ephorates the approach to management needs to be changed from operationally-based to value-based strategies with established priorities in accordance with the Ministry's central policy, ones that will apply within specific time frames and will be revised regularly taking into consideration the results of evaluation processes and new conditions. Such a change in the

management culture will help tackle workload and enhance specialisation and thus broaden the existing restricted perspective in protection and conservation through presentation and interpretation. It will also help reduce conflicting perceptions of management of the archaeological resources between the central and local services of the Ministry.

Strategic management is also a better environment for the development of collaborations that will enhance the work of the Archaeological Service and multiply its potential and its value. It will also improve its relationship with local authorities and other parties with relevant interests.

It would be easier to resist to political interference if the most important decisions were not dependent on one single body — currently the Central Archaeological Council. Finally, the key to change is finding the political will necessary to implement these changes and solve a series of problems because these changes can only be implemented at a political level. However, even politicians need to be convinced.

5.5 For Whom Is Archaeology Practiced in Greece?

The final question this thesis aims to examine and hopefully answer is (see Introduction) *'For whom is archaeology practiced in Greece?'* To explore whether the Constitutional premise of protection and conservation as a collective and individual right is actually happening, a series of further questions were asked. The answers of participants regarding disadvantages that derive from the proximity of their community to the archaeological site were also used to shed further light to how people perceive the requirements for protection and conservation. Their answers were grouped in four categories: 'no disadvantages', 'activities' restrictions, bureaucracy, delays, behaviour', 'restrictions in building and the use of private property' and 'other'.

Restrictions on building and the use of private property were by far the most frequently mentioned in Delphi and in Krenides (figure 96, table 91). It was third in participants' preference in Dispilio.

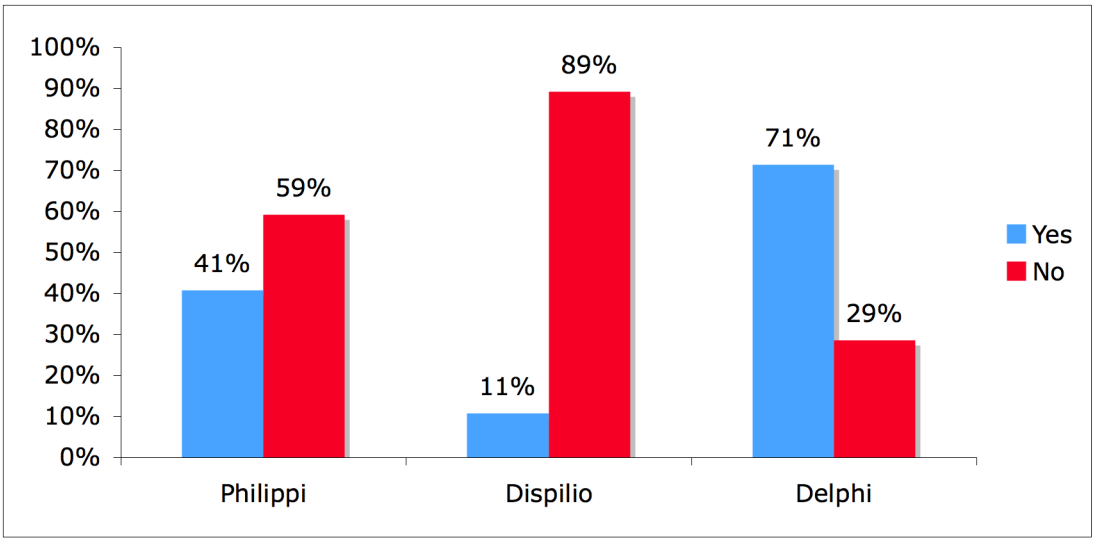

Figure 96 Building restrictions as a disadvantage

The most frequently mentioned disadvantage in Dispilio was 'activities restrictions, bureaucracy, delays and behaviour' (figure 97, table 92). It was the

second most frequently mentioned disadvantage in Krenides and the third one in Delphi.

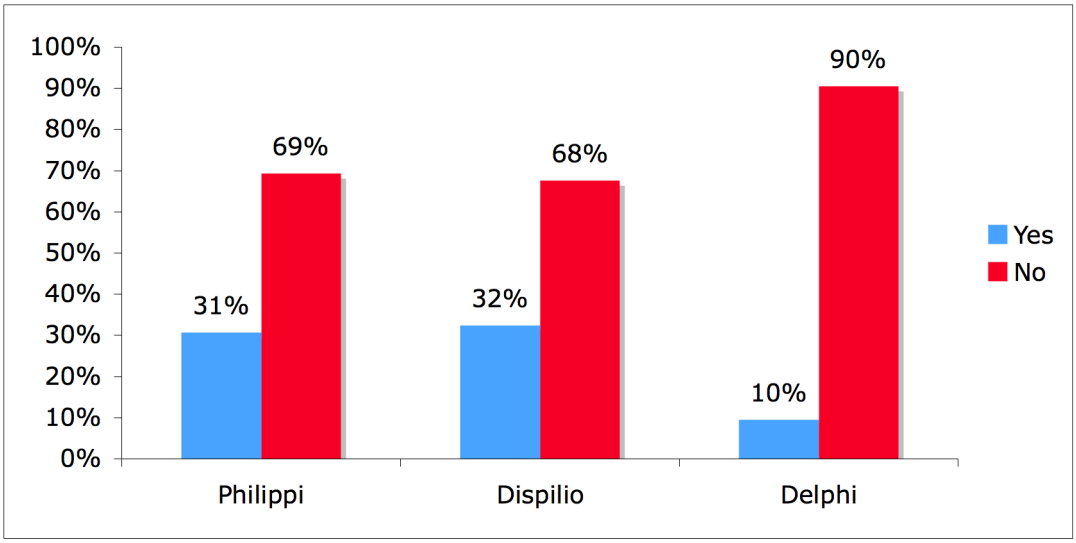

Figure 97 Activities restrictions, permissions requests, bureaucracy, behaviour, and delays

The second most identified disadvantage in Delphi and in Dispilio (which is lower at Krenides) is the group of other disadvantages that in Delphi included consequences of tourism, lack of infrastructure and of counterbalance measures, social division, lack of financial profit and accidents (figure 98, table 93).

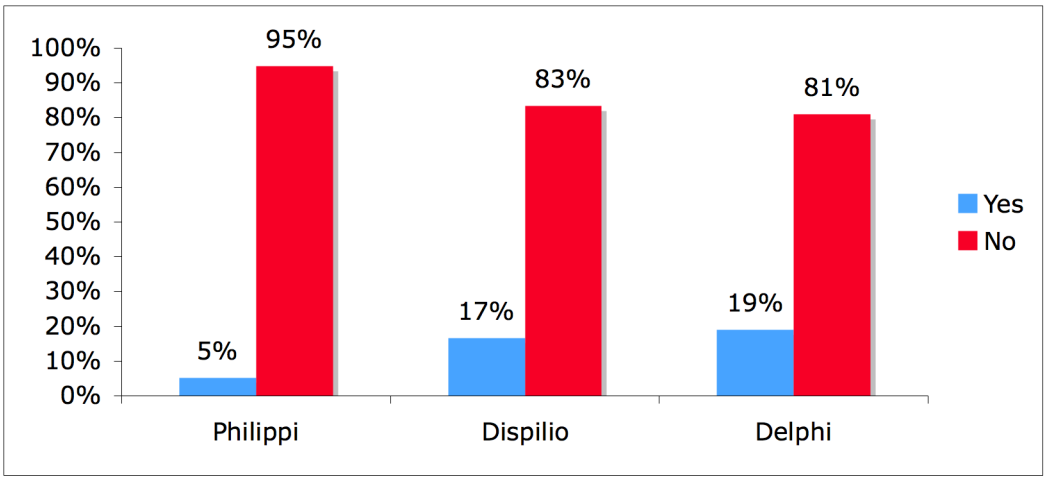

Figure 98 Other disadvantages

In Dispilio, other disadvantages include the threat to demolish the church (see 5.1.7) and restriction of the additional use of the settlement (e.g. the use of the logo). Other disadvantages noted at Krenides included accidents, the road diversion, town expansion, muddy roads and archaeology generally as an impediment to tourist development.

'Activities restrictions, bureaucracy, delays and behaviour' correlated with educational level in Krenides. Fewer participants who stated these as disadvantages had graduated with compulsory education or less (figure 99, table 94); confirming that participants with less education were less negatively disposed towards archaeology.

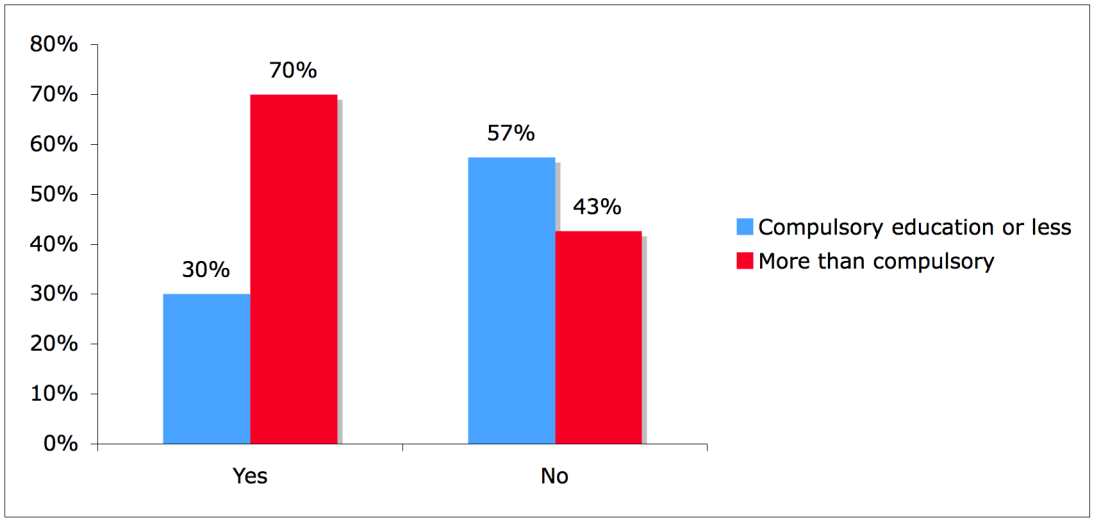

Figure 99 Activities, permissions, bureaucracy and delays by educational level in Krenides (n= 98)

In Dispilio, other disadvantages, including the purported threat to demolish the church and the control in using the lake settlement logo, correlated with age. More participants who mentioned other disadvantages were 65 years old and over (figure 100, table 95); confirming older residents as more reluctant towards changes in their social environment, even if these were only presumed, such as the threat towards the church of the Ascension (see 5.1.7).

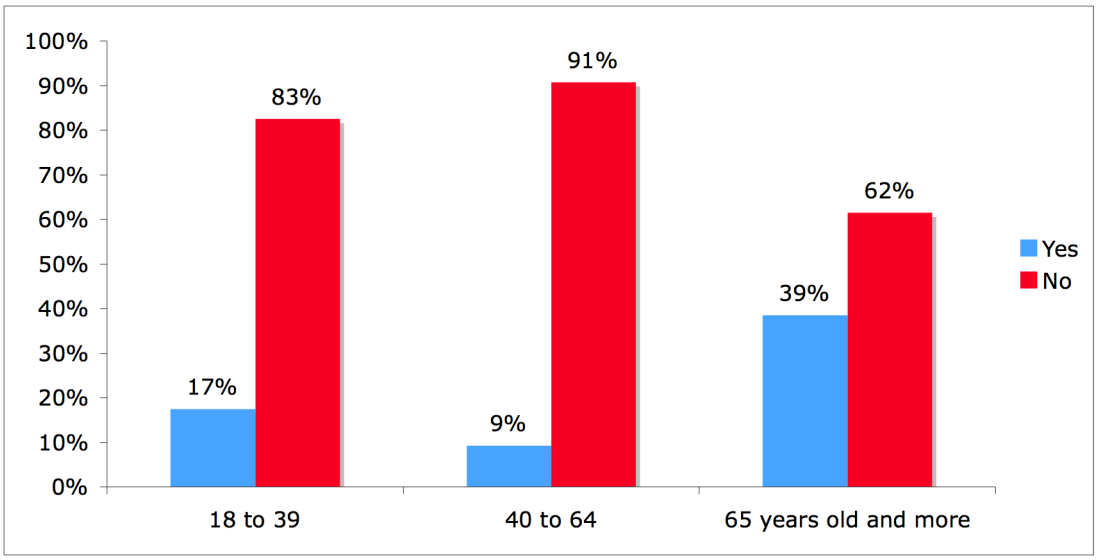

Figure 100 Other disadvantages by age in Dispilio (n= 102)

Participants' answers regarding the improvement of their quality of life as a result of the existence and work on these archaeological sites demonstrated a considerable level of agreement — a result that proved that the positive value of archaeology is identifiable (figure 101, table 96).

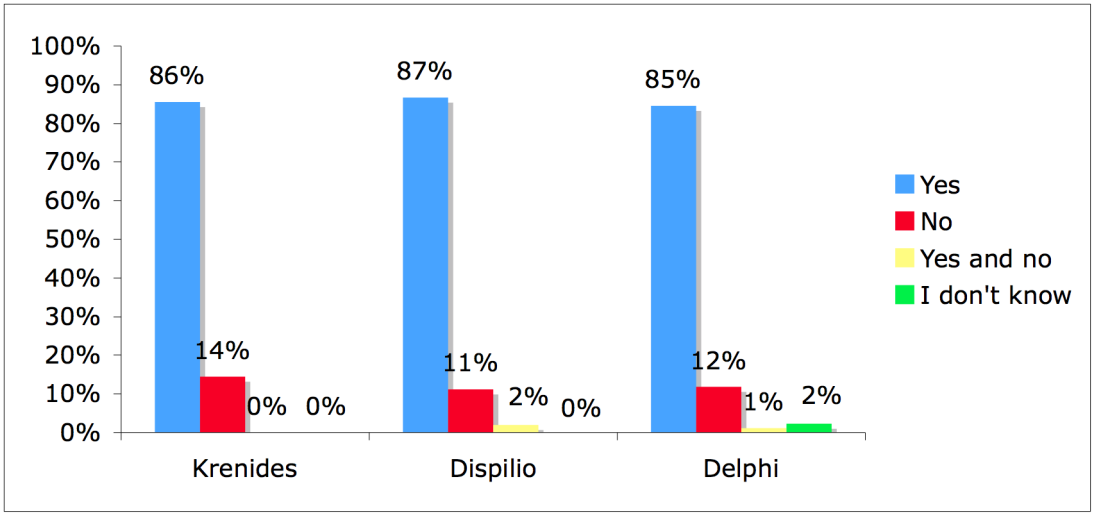

Figure 101 'Do you believe that these archaeological sites/museums improve the quality of life in your area?'

The answers to this question correlated with employment status in Krenides. Unemployed participants believed that these archaeological sites and museums improved the quality of life in their area (figure 102, table 97), confirming again the pattern of unemployed participants as more positively disposed.

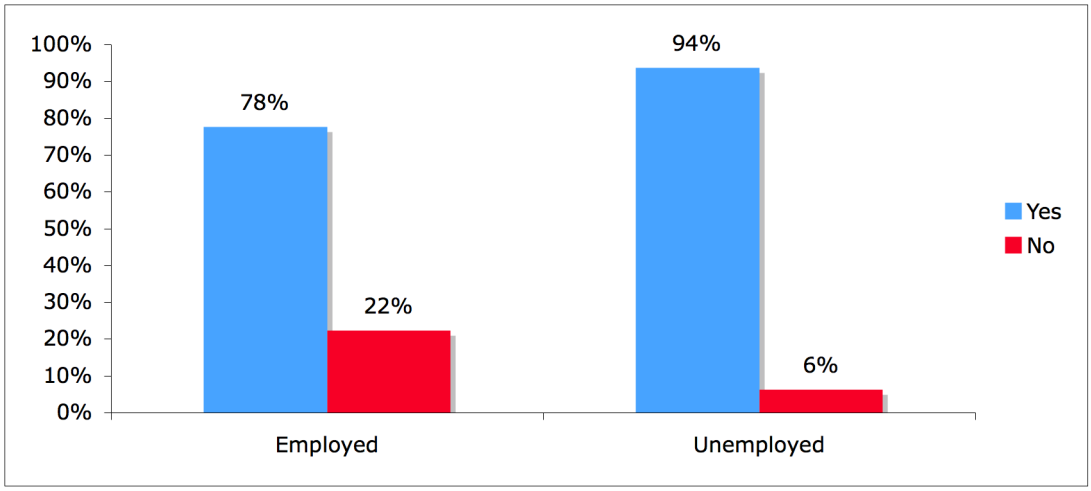

Figure 102 Quality of life by employment condition in Krenides (n= 97)

In an effort to further tease out participants' perceptions of the role of archaeology in their area, the issue of archaeology as an impediment to local development was raised. Participants' answers demonstrated the divide between the three local communities already identified (figure 103, table 98).

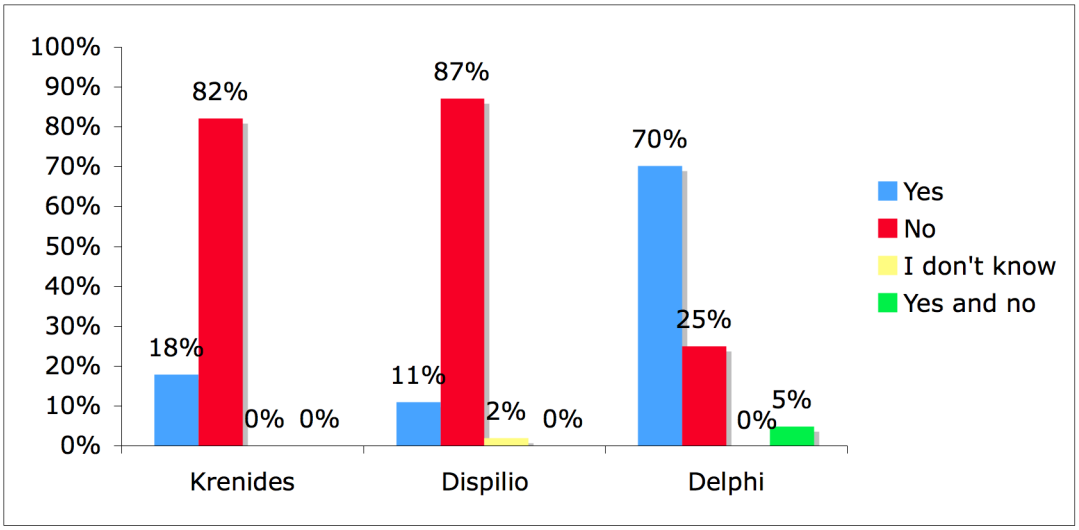

Figure 103 'Do you believe that archaeology has been an impediment to the development of your area?'

Percentages were similar at Krenides and Dispilio. However, at Delphi, the results were completely reversed. Although the term development was not used in a specific context, the results can still be explained by the minimal disruption that archaeology and archaeological activity has caused in the first two communities' lives. In Delphi, by contrast, where archaeology has directly affected the settlement's expansion and any new building activity (see 5.1.3), participants were in overwhelming agreement that archaeology had been an impediment to development. As a participant said 'there has not been a merging of contemporary society and archaeology. The Delphiot breaks the law the moment he or she is born. His property is confiscated and bound without any return. It is unfair'. Restrictions do not bring development.

Answers to this question correlated with gender at Krenides. Fewer female participants believed that archaeology has been an impediment to the development of Krenides, confirming thus females as less negatively inclined towards archaeology than male participants (figure 104, table 99).

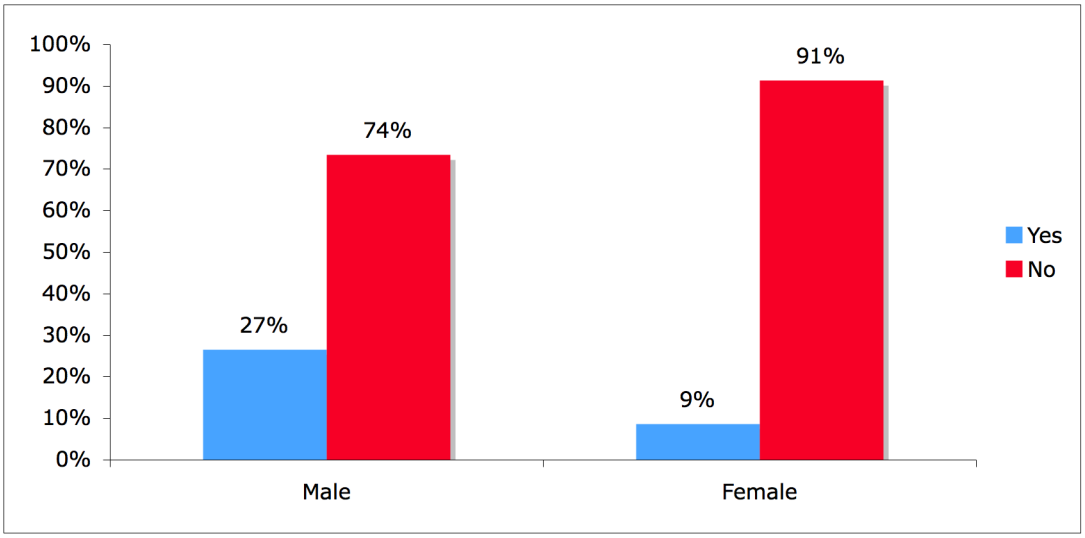

Figure 104 Impediment to development by gender in Krenides (n= 95)

Answers to the same question correlated with frequency of visits to other archaeological sites and museums in Delphi. Significantly more participants

who visited other archaeological sites and museums about or more than once a year did not believe that archaeology had been an impediment to the development of Delphi (figure 105, table 100), an expected result.

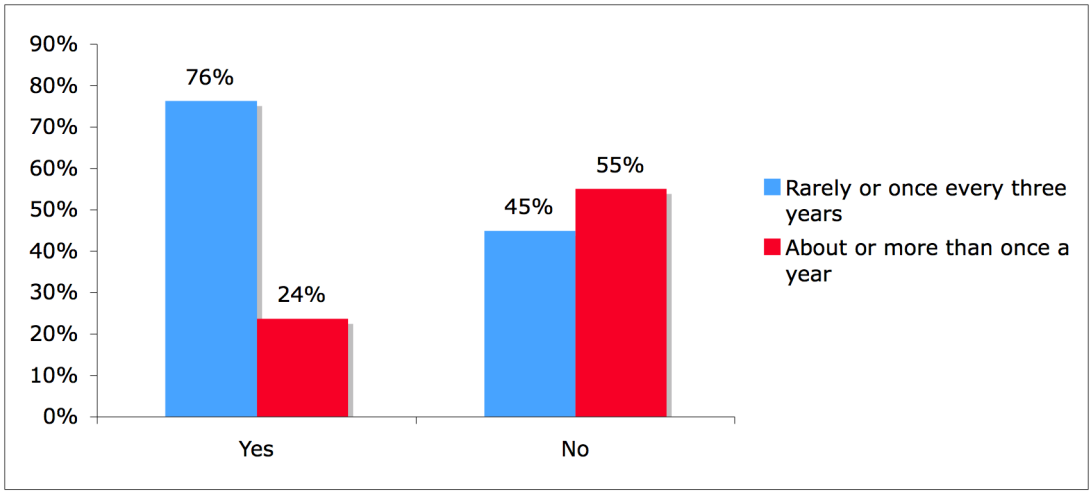

Figure 105 Archaeology as impediment to development by frequency of visits to other arch. sites/ museums in Delphi (n= 79)

Participants gave a wide range of answers to the question '*Who do you believe is mostly concerned with archaeology today?*' but a clear majority of respondents believed that it was 'the state and its responsible officials' (varying from 68% in Dispilio to 56% in Krenides and slightly less, 54% in Delphi) (figure 106, table 101).

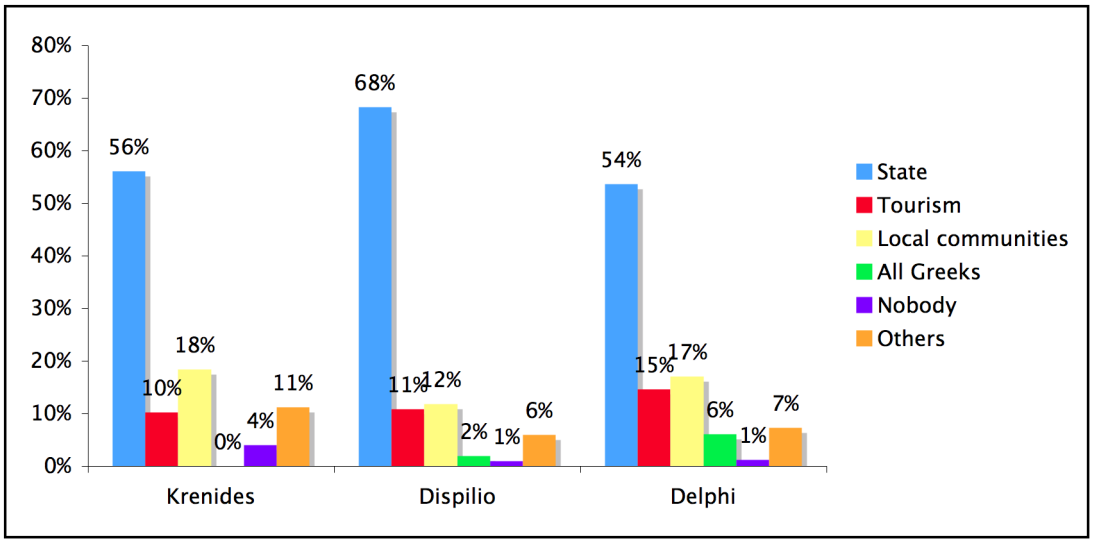

Figure 106 'Who do you believe is most concerned with archaeology today?'

These results clearly demonstrate that longevity of archaeological works and regulations may result to more exposure to public criticism and consequently to lack of support and distrust towards state archaeologists and the Archaeological Service and not necessarily to a better relationship between them and local communities. Although a reassuringly high percentage of participants in Krenides distinguished between their relationship with the discipline and the one with the Archaeological Service (see impact of bureaucracy in 5.1.3), not all participants make this distinction.

Considering that archaeology is an exclusively state profession according to legislation in Greece (see 2.1.4), it is important to understand what else participants thought. At all the sites 'the local communities' came second. The tourist industry was the respondents' third choice and then came 'all Greeks'. There was a series of other responses where participants expressed their distrust in the state with cynicism. Answers included 'romantics' or 'whoever loves our history', 'nobody', 'tourists', 'the French' (in the case of Delphi), 'those who are paid to' or 'make a profit', 'looters', 'worshipers of the Twelve Gods'. Manolis Andronikos, the archaeologist who excavated Vergina, was also mentioned, an unsurprising answer regarding this archaeologist's public appeal (see Hamilakis 2007).

The Archaeological Service as the main archaeological actor involved with work taking place currently was even less acknowledged in areas where more agents are more actively involved, as is the case of Naxos (see 2.2.7). However, the important role students attributed to the state when they were asked about what agent they expect to familiarise them with archaeology (Dassiou 2005; see 2.2.5) demonstrated that expectations from the state as attributed by public education are renewed with every generation.

Differences in the answers to the same question in surveys conducted in Northern America demonstrate the different system of management of archaeological resources. There the majority of participants attributed archaeological work to university and museum researchers, a situation that was true until a few decades ago, when archaeological work was taken up by private firms, demonstrating thus a lack of awareness of archaeological management reality (see 1.10).

Finally, the question '*for whom do you think archaeology is practiced today in Greece and in your area in particular?*' was posed. The majority of participants at Krenides and Dispilio stated that archaeologists work for themselves (figure 107, table 102). Only 10% gave this answer in Delphi. In Delphi, the majority believed that archaeologists work with the primary motivation of contributing to society, which was the second biggest category in answers at Krenides.

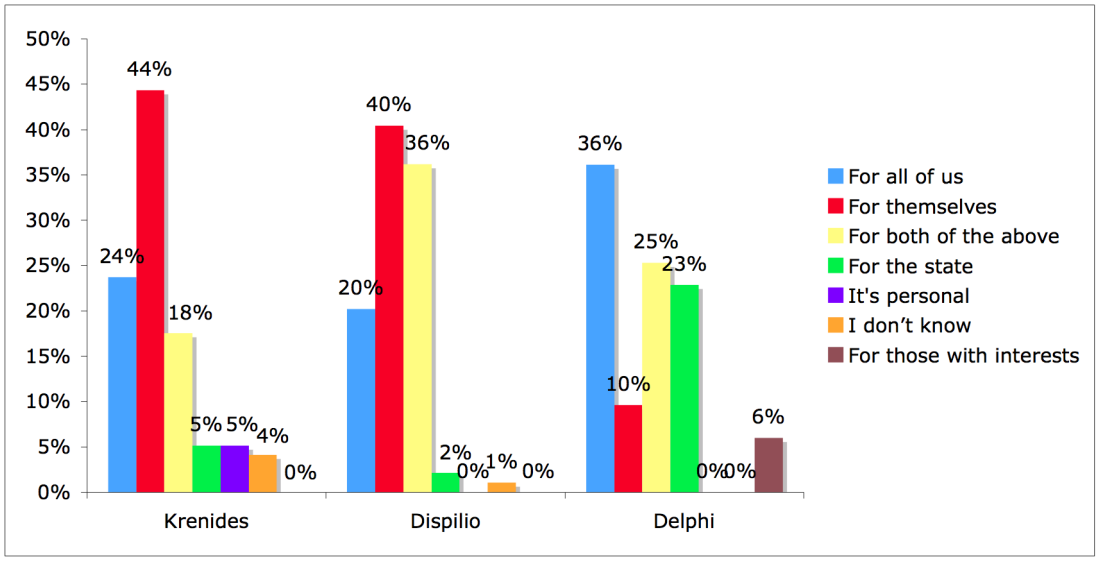

Figure 107 'For whom do you believe that archaeology is practiced today in Greece and in your area in particular?'

The second biggest category in Dispilio believed that the archaeologists' motivations were a combination of social and personal agendas, the third most popular category at Delphi and Krenides. After these major categories came

participants who saw them as any other employee of the state. Finally, few participants in Krenides stated that it was an entirely individual matter and others in Delphi that they work for vested interests.

These percentages demonstrated a quite fragmented picture of public perceptions about archaeologists. Overall, a more realistic impression of archaeologists seems to exist in Delphi than in the other two sites. Participants at Krenides and Dispilio, who believed that archaeologists worked for themselves, were balanced by those who believed that their primary motivation was their contribution to society. If the latter are combined with those who believed in a mixture of social and personal agendas, then percentages reach and surpass the first group.

The picture is just as balanced in Delphi: although the percentage of participants who believe that archaeologists work to contribute to society initially seems high, when one combines participants who believed that archaeologists work for themselves with those who believe in mixed motivations, the two groups are equal. The groups that are most notable were the fourth highest group identified at Delphi who saw archaeologists as being like any other civil servant and those who believed that archaeologists work for vested interests. The two groups combined make almost one third of participants in Delphi.

5.6 Issues

During research and analysis, a range of issues emerged that shed further light on the relationship between archaeology and local communities and are discussed in more detail here. These revolved around the two poles of the relationship. A third agent was also identified, one that was termed in the context of this thesis 'cultural rhetoric', also elaborated on further below.

5.6.1 Nature of Archaeology

A series of factors that relate to the nature of the archaeological resource were found to impact on the relationship between archaeology and local communities. These include the resource's significance in ancient Greek and national history, their international reputation and consequently the level of the Archaeological Service's intervention on the site. Physical features such as monumentality, and the extent of site interpretation, especially as developed in a separate heritage attraction, such as a site museum, and visitor numbers also have an impact. Further attitudes that influence this relationship and view of archaeology, were the nature of the archaeological work and the top-down approach taken within Greek archaeology, in terms of both archaeological resource management and the dissemination of research by the discipline.

The historical and cultural significance of each site in terms of its place in the dominant national narrative has determined the level of intervention put in by the Archaeological Service. The archaeological sites of Philippi and of Delphi and the Ecomuseum in Dispilio are fenced, organised sites with ticket offices. However, the contrast between the high and solid fencing of Delphi and Philippi and the wooden, farm-type enclosure of the Ecomuseum in Dispilio signifies a great difference between these sites. It signals the difference in the

authenticity of the resource and consequently, in its management: had the Ecomuseum been an authentic archaeological site, the Ministry of Culture and Tourism would have taken it over by law. Because it is a reconstructed site, the municipality was allowed to run it and thus the university team created a more visitor-friendly environment, less concerned with security, friendlier to the locals as well, as the high frequency of visits reported in the survey showed (see 5.1.3).

At another level, Philippi and Delphi, both strongly connected to nationally important personalities and periods in ancient Greek history, have received international interest and attention. This has been felt locally in many ways. One of them is the early and continuous interest and investment of the Greek and the French states for more than one hundred years now (see 4.1.3 and 4.3.3). More recently, both site museums underwent massive programmes of rebuilding and refurbishment. This had a double impact on the relationship with the local community: first, it distilled pride and sense of importance, the opposite of what the locals in Vasiliko felt for Ancient Sikyon as reported by Deltsiou (2009), and second, it removed control of the site from them. It did not, though, remove the sense of ownership and responsibility, as eloquently put by participants in Delphi, 'when Castalia was on fire, we ran first' (also see survey results in 5.1.5).

In contrast, Dispilio has never received interest founded on its importance for the dominant national narrative, although the finding of a tablet carved with linear incisions has fired up public debates between Greek and FYROM nationalists (Hourmouziadi 2009: 218-20). According to archival material from the Community of Dispilio, communication between the Archaeological Service and the local administration since the 1960s testifies to the distanced control the former exercised (see also 4.2.3). A list of all the restrictions and potential legal

actions in case of breach of the law followed the announcement of the site's listing as one of archaeological significance. No justification or evidence for the listing was provided other than referring to the site as a 'prehistoric lake settlement' (Community of Dispilio 1972a, 1972b). More communication followed after the guards of the area's antiquities reported forbidden uses (Community of Dispilio 1974). A participant referred to the removal of the football field, which was a consequence of the site's listing, as something that annoyed him a lot at the time. The football field was in the end moved a few hundred metres away, opposite the current Ecomuseum. This formal and remote contact based on restrictions constituted the context within which the relationship between archaeology and the locals developed. Not even the Greek archaeological research community demonstrated any interest in Dispilio. As one member of the excavation team pointed out, despite its early discovery, there had never been a systematic programme of research to investigate those early findings before 1992, either by the initial excavator or by other eminent Greek pre-historians (see 4.2.3).

All of the above have resulted in a long history of appropriation of the archaeological sites of Philippi and Delphi by the Archaeological Service in accordance with the valorisation of archaeological heritage by the Greek state itself. This has resulted in two different local reactions. In Delphi, the local community and its administration have developed the confidence to challenge the Archaeological Service and its decisions. In Krenides however the representatives of the local administration expressed a reluctance to exercise claims on the management of an extensive archaeological site on the basis that it borders with their municipality. As one of them stated they would probably have had more say over remains that lay within the limits of the municipality. Instead, they tried through a collaborative approach to promote archaeological research of their area and influence the Archaeological Service's decision-

making. More recently (2003), Philippi's inclusion on the Greek tentative list for World Heritage confirmed the state's interest. Since then, the local administration has used the process for inscription as a platform for the promotion of the archaeological resources of the area that have not enjoyed the state's attention so far (i.e. rock art, see 4.1.2).

By contrast, the locals in Dispilio have been using the area of the archaeological site and the Ecomuseum until recently for cultural events and to access the lake. Today, the archaeological site is normally inaccessible, although some insist on crossing it to access the lake. The week-long Fair on Ascension Day, the day the church celebrates, has now been moved to the area in front of it (see 5.1.7). Furthermore, as participants in the survey stated, the Ecomuseum is used even to take wedding pictures; a remarkably internalised and personalised use of the resource. Next to it, the municipality erected an iron construction to be used as an open-air movie theatre. The youth of Dispilio hosted their musical event there.

At the same time, Dispilio lacks highly visible, monumental or materially valuable archaeological remains, made of gold or marble, such as the ones produced during the dominant and best known periods of ancient Greek history, always in the context of the dominant national narrative. This contributes to the devaluation of the local archaeological resource either by the state or the locals. In general, the sites and finds that are most likely to attract the biggest public interest involve gold, in the form of money or adornment. Excavation workers agreed that what their co-villagers ask them most frequently is whether they have found any *lires* (golden coins), fascinated more by the treasure rather than the knowledge-hunt (regarding the 'Vergina Syndrome' among historical archaeologists, see 2.1.2).

Monumentality is another physical feature of archaeological remains that captures the imagination of the public. Unaware of the scientific and ethical considerations regarding reconstructions, plans regarding reconstruction of monumental remains feed ideas for the developmental potential of sites as visitor attractions. The representative of the local administration in Krenides saw the ancient theatre, Basilica B' and the Octagon as potentially promising for the expansion of the site's presentation and interpretation as reconstructed monuments. Even archaeologists are carried away by impressive finds, as the university archaeologist in Philippi admitted regarding his own impressions of the site as a student: the octagonal building, the mosaics, the Baptistry with its fountain, the inscription at Saint Paul's basilica attracted his interest to the excavation and the site. After all, impressiveness and monumentality are, according to the Assistant Director of an Ephorate, two major criteria for the preservation *in situ* of archaeological remains and their future operation as an attraction open to visitors. Although this is an argument that could be seen to exist for practical reasons, notions such as the one of intangible heritage come to challenge its premises and expose it as a materialistic, impression-led and in the end a superficial valorisation of archaeological remains that serves the dominant discourse as generated and maintained through the practices of archaeological resources management.

The university archaeologist in Dispilio attributed this attitude to the association of antiquity and the past exclusively with Classical Greece, which has come to dominate as a result of public education and general culture. This helps to create a lack of understanding of prehistoric material and sites, which in turn leads to the public's disbelief on the scientific value of a pile of potsherds or stone tools (see 2.1.2). 'Even if you explain to him [the local] that this and this and that, that the things we find were created 7,000 years ago and more, they [sic] believe it with difficulty'. He believed that the definition of

prehistory by comparison to later cultures, based on its deficiencies and primarily the lack of written sources, and the disregard for the originality of prehistoric inventions, most of which are still in use today, have led to this approach.

Certain elements of the local community in Dispilio challenged the conclusions of the excavation team's research on the basis of similar assumptions. A few participants in the survey said that they believed that the archaeological team exaggerated the significance of its finds in order to attribute more value and attract more money. A couple of others emphatically distinguished in their answers 'true archaeology' from the archaeology that was taking place in Dispilio. Another one said that she believed that it is impossible that such things are found in Dispilio. The representative of the local church expressed this stance in an unfounded and extremely dogmatic way (see 5.1.7).

The representative of the local administration echoed the local view when he said that the interest of local communities in archaeology increases as soon as an important find is announced. 'That is, at this moment someone will go to the workshop, there, to the young people who are working, he will see that they do the 'stones' [sic] from these broken, how do they call them, stones…he will go and see thousand pieces. This will not cause him any…anything'. As a result, this undermining of the scientific and national value of the resource and of the work conducted, removes justification for the high grants invested on the project through EU and public funds and worsens the locals' view of the archaeologists and their work at a particularly bad time for the local economy. Participants during the survey said that: 'not all the money goes to the project. Some go to their pockets'. 'We have not seen any antiquities yet. The whole of Greece has stones. [They say they found] something to get money'.

At the same time, the lack of such a physically impressive and visible resource in terms of national significance, monumentality and state intervention, seems to impact on the frequency and on the reasons to visit the local archaeological site, as presented above (see 5.1.3). It appears that the lack of an authoritative resource and the Archaeological Service's relative absence in Dispilio allows local people to appropriate the site more easily and thus visit more often in an improvised, leisurely way, for their walk or to attend an event. The same happens in Philippi where the presence of the Archaeological Service is not as immediately felt as it is at Delphi. In the latter case, the long established function of the site as a popular visitor attraction hinders its casual use by the local community, as the larger group of participants stated that they visited once every three years showed (see 5.1.3). Additionally, the Archaeological Service does not allow the use of the ancient theatre for cultural events for conservation reasons. Instead, the local community complies with the formal function of the site and visits it more to take guests around.

However, at least in Dispilio times are changing. The university excavation has been ongoing uninterruptedly since 1992. The presence of the Archaeological Service in the area has become more apparent since rescue excavations started taking place in 1995-6, according to a temporary state archaeologist in the area. Members of the excavation team confirmed that the continuation of their project year by year has improved their relationship with the local community and even contributed to a slight reduction in the initial resentment expressed by the representative of the local church (see 5.1.7). As a member of the team said, people are getting used to the presence of archaeologists and there are no longer negative feelings about them. However, since there are no funds available for the full-time employment of associates, and individual members pursue careers elsewhere, this connection is lost without younger associates necessarily replacing them under the same terms. The members of the team

who have worked for the project for longer and stayed in Dispilio over longer stretches of time are the ones who are better known, even by name, especially to the local shop owners and current and former workers of the excavation. When an archaeologist of the team comes from the area, the prospects for a longer, more frequent and better relationship are improved, as a member of the team noted regarding its current composition.

A more optimistic member of the team believed that people have now started to understand what they do.

> They did not know what an excavation is and the period we are looking at. They did not understand what we are doing. For them everything we found was stones. They have started to understand what we do, what we are doing for their village and the elevation of the archaeological site but, even more generally, as a scientific…what the period we are approaching is, what our problems are, what we are trying to show through excavation.

The contribution of longevity of a research programme to the relationship with the local community is even clearer in the case of Krenides. The university has been excavating in Philippi since 1958 and the Ephorate was active in the area even before that. The university excavator has been working in the area since the early 1960s. Systematic efforts to engage the local community, such as the work of the EEC or a tour run for primary school fifth-graders by the French team, are very recent. However, the local community in Krenides demonstrated a close relationship to the site, with frequent visits and a strong sense of belonging and responsibilities (see 5.1.3 and 5.1.5). Although participants from Krenides commented negatively on the impression of the site and did not express a very positive opinion about the archaeologists either (see 5.5), one in

three participants had to collaborate with the Archaeological Service and more than half of these stated that bureaucracy did not influence their relationship to archaeology (see 5.1.3). These results suggest the existence of an uneventful relationship, maybe one that could fit into Sutton's parallelism of the relationship between archaeology and local communities as tectonic plates (see 2.2.7).

The existence of a site museum is regarded as a common-sense statement of the acknowledgment of the historical and cultural significance of a site. Its absence is seen as an expression of the state's indifference and weakness to provide what is necessary for the protection, conservation, presentation and interpretation of a site. Additionally, a museum tends to be regarded as a necessary addition for the realisation of the development potential of archaeology. When it comes to the local communities, the question is not how accurately a museum represents the history of their past but rather whether it corresponds to their perception of modern museum aesthetics. According to the representative of the local administration in Dispilio, the lack of a museum is their biggest problem regarding developing the significance of the site in the future. Although the excavation team set up an exhibition space adjacent to their excavation workshop only three years after the beginning of the project, locals did not regard this as a 'proper museum', something which they made explicit with their comments during the survey.

In reality, if one compared this display, the Ecomuseum and the excavation park under preparation in Dispilio to the level of site presentation and interpretation in Philippi, considering the latter's status, history of archaeology and visitor numbers, they would find that Dispilio has advanced immensely for its 18 years of systematic research. During the archaeological museum's closure for renovation in Philippi, the local community has been asking for a 'real

museum', 'appropriate for the site', 'with better aesthetics and results [sic], bigger spaces and visitor numbers', according to the representative of the local administration. Even the Directors of the Ephorates admitted the need for a bigger archaeological museum, outside the boundary of the archaeological site and with contemporary exhibitions; a common demand regarding archaeological sites all over Greece that has resulted in great expenditure for the unplanned foundation and unsustainable operation of several small museums.

The Ecomuseum in Dispilio was the second attempt by the team to present and interpret the archaeological results and interpretation after the exhibition next to the excavation workshop. According to the archaeologists, it was also the most successful one with the local community because it constituted a tangible product with potential economic benefit. Indeed, the case of the Ecomuseum remains unique in Greece. It is modern in perception and escapes the mainstream model of presentation and interpretation in site museums. In Dispilio, everybody seems to know that there is no other such place in Greece and that there are more in Europe. Whether they feel proud about it or look down on it with contempt depends on their overall disposition towards archaeology.

Relevant to the above, is the number of visitors an archaeological site attracts, a more tangible and visible expression of the national historical and cultural significance of the site, one that the local community can perceive easily and use as an argument, away from archaeological explanations. A representative of a former local administration in Dispilio said that the flow of visitors has contributed to the change of the locals' opinions and attitudes towards archaeology. At the same time, in Krenides the local community and the administration are trying to come up with ways in which the local economy

could benefit from the thousands of visitors. In Delphi, a few participants in the survey mentioned a claim by the local community to a share of the site's and the museum's revenue. One could discern an ascending order in the realisation of the economic value of archaeology among the three local communities and also in the ways they claim benefits from it.

Other significant factors are the theoretical premises of the type of archaeology practiced on site and the worldview of the archaeologists engaged in it. Even the personality of the individuals involved in the project may influence its public interface and its relationship with the local community.

The university archaeologist in Dispilio is a prehistorian with particular epistemological foundations, strongly affiliated with Marxist and processual archaeology. His approaches are grounded more on the work of V.G. Childe and on anthropological perspectives. He is also known for setting up the Neolithic exhibition in the archaeological museum of Volos in the 1970s, a distinctive exhibition for the use of interpretative media and the contextualisation of exhibits (Hourmouziadi 2006: 82). He has developed over the years a corpus of writings on the publicising of archaeology and the necessity of museology as a separate discipline. He also has a distinguished record of efforts to found new journals for the dissemination of anthropological approaches. One could say that he is not a typical Greek archaeologist!

Although a detailed approach to the research team in Dispilio would require further research, overall, the development of the excavation project seems to reflect this particular university archaeologist's worldview and philosophy. The project has engaged a great number of research associates in all relevant fields of archaeological science over the years. Associates enjoy a degree of freedom within the general scope of the project. They also contribute to the furthering of

the education of younger generations of archaeologists during a summer 'Excavation School' (Hourmouziadis 2008), during which students attend lectures on cutting edge research mainly regarding Dispilio.

The above have informed the efforts the team has undertaken to publicise the excavation's results (see 4.2.3). The representative of a former local administration said that the efforts of the archaeological team to come into contact with the local community have also helped people change attitude. However, he said, locals have bigger and more immediate problems, referring to the crisis of the fur industry (see 4.2.1 and 5.1.4), and this is why they do not express an interest in archaeology.

A few participants in the survey emphasised the fact that the archaeologist is a twice-elected member of the national parliament, with the Communist Party. They referred to the fact that his project has received grants from CSFs. Considering the predominantly conservative character of the whole prefecture of Kastoria, an area next to the border with Albania, and the acute economic and social problems it is faced with, one can understand why there has been some criticism.

The archaeologist himself often uses an anecdote to illustrate his and the project's relationship with the most conservative quarters of the local community, the representative of the local church and his supporters (see 5.1.7). On the first day of the excavation, the representative of the local church arrived at the trenches obviously upset. When he asked the archaeologist why they started working without waiting for his blessing, the archaeologist replied to him that Marx said that work was blessed by the hands of the workers. One realises that neither part of this relationship has tried to 'build bridges'.

At the same time, issues of personality come to play as well. As the university archaeologist in Dispilio said about himself 'it is true I am a little introverted, let me say, but I am not, I do not create many relationships'. Another member of the university excavation in Dispilio remembered that the initial members of the excavation team used to socialize more within the local community. They were going out more and mingling socially with the locals while now the whole team is entrenched in their work and the premises of the excavation workshop. Younger members of the local community mentioned during the survey an archaeology student who used to play basketball with them.

In contrast, the university archaeologist in Philippi, a historical archaeologist, is more traditional in his approach to archaeology and its management. He maintains a small team, including a couple of regular associates, mainly his own students, though without rejecting collaboration with other researchers. He enjoys socialising with some of the locals, especially the ones he has known for a long time, over a light dinner at one of the tavernas in Krenides. Among them, he maintains a simple manner though without compromising his perception of his professorial status. Obviously, social engagement is one thing and public engagement in archaeology is another. But one has to wonder if the former is a prerequisite of the latter and whether the latter can exist without the former. As Stroulia believes, archaeologists need to show an interest in people's present lives to attract their attention to the past and eventually bridge the gap between archaeologists and locals (Stroulia 2002).

The use of mass media for the publicisation of archaeology was only mentioned in the case of Dispilio. Again it was mainly the university archaeologist who stated his belief in its usefulness. It is true that he is a particularly media friendly archaeologist. He has appeared on TV many times, he maintained a radio programme regarding archaeology, later published as a book. He cited

Andronikos, the excavator of Vergina, as an example of an archaeologist who never turned down an invitation to talk in public about the findings of Vergina. He concluded, however, that overall Greek archaeologists are not willing to pursue a relationship with the mass media themselves, although they respond positively when journalists approach them.

Similar factors come to play in the case of state archaeologists, who are additionally influenced by their duties in the Archaeological Service and their position in the system. For instance, the perspectives and attitudes of state archaeologists change according to whether they work for a central or a local service. The former are more influenced by the supervisory and administrative duties of a central service while the latter are more in touch with the public and the ground operation of the Archaeological Service.

A consistent feature in the archaeologists' discourse was the top-down approach taken towards the local communities. This approach seems to stem from the professional identity of archaeologists. To develop this discussion further (see also 5.3), the accepted necessity of protection and conservation of the archaeological heritage constitutes a central element of archaeologists' professional identity and of their approach of local communities; a solid belief in this justification of their cause in turn protects the core of their existence from 'unnecessary' challenges, such as the question *why is heritage protected?* The representative of the Association of Greek Archaeologists believed that people are always interested in their past. A director of an Ephorate believed that the interest of local administrations in the work of protection and conservation is rising because '…the interest one must [sic] have in culture is being realised [by them]'.

Their firm belief in the 'undeniable' value of archaeological heritage, demonstrated in archaeological writing (e.g. Andronikos mentioned in Kokkinidou 2005: 26-7), results in a somewhat patronising attitude by archaeologists towards the locals. The most common expression of this is the self-flattering way with which the archaeologists refer to their work as something so difficult that it requires a great effort to make it 'well received and understood' by the general and 'ignorant' public. Indeed, this attitude in combination with the lack of will, interest or ability of the archaeologists to explain their work and the reasons why it is necessary in a simple manner has resulted in archaeology being regarded as an incomprehensible and specialised discipline, of no broader interest to lay people (see the comments of the representative of the local administration in Dispilio on the difficulties of the non-expert, above).

As a consequence, people are not aware of the implications of archaeological work and their relationship with archaeology is based on misinformation and false assumptions. Participants who maintained such misconceptions said that 'most [of the finds] don't become public', 'they hide the important ones', 'they go elsewhere', and 'they sell them', echoing perceptions often encountered even among visitors (Hourmouziadi 2009: 212).

People also confuse university excavations with the Archaeological Service, thus holding research accountable for the consequences of state archaeological management regulations; reluctance, fear, suspicion, and opposition to perceived impediments to development (for the differentiation between state and university archaeologists in public perceptions, see Hamilakis 2007). The representative of a former local administration in Dispilio said that the initial negative reactions of the locals were a result of their fear that archaeology would take their fields away. Then they realised that this was not the aim of the

archaeological team. However, the archaeological team, as one of the members admitted, has not emphasised the fact that the project is under the auspices of the Aristotle University of Thessaloniki enough, a tactic used in Philippi.

Finally, further misconceptions regard authority over urban planning and land use restrictions. Although the Ministry of Environment, Energy and Climatic Change is largely responsible for these areas, people hold archaeologists accountable, as comments during the survey in Dispilio demonstrated (see also Herzfeld 1991). It becomes clear that archaeologists need to be more explicit about their work and what it entails to achieve a better relationship and understanding of the local communities; reaching the same conclusion as Stone regarding sharing 'the work, its excitement and its conclusions in non-jargon verbosity' (see 1.10).

However, even when it comes to issues that are not related to protection and conservation, archaeologists are critical of the local people, their cultural identity and the appearance of their settlements. The university archaeologist in Philippi cited the local communities of Olympia and Delphi as examples of locals who love their sites a lot 'because they know that thanks to Delphi they are there and they live better' and compared them to Krenides, asking condescendingly 'do you know, if people loved this place, how [different] things would be?' He also doubted if the schools of the area ever visit the site and if they do, whether their teachers are well prepared to take their students around. Although some of these issues have been raised in this thesis as well it is addressing this condescending and patronising way of archaeologists that potentially can make all the difference in the long run.

The university archaeologist in Dispilio talked extensively about the identity that he believed archaeology can contribute to local communities. He was

particularly critical of the local fairs, "the 'top' cultural event" in provincial areas (see also Hourmouziadis 2002: 11 regarding social life). In the end, he admitted that the locals do not always recognise this potential for identity formation.

In the past, the university archaeologist in Dispilio reacted to the publication of a local history and folklore book that a team of local teachers had prepared for the Cultural Association. The objection by the archaeologist was that the work it included was not of high quality and may also have been related to a sketchy depiction of the lake settlement with prehistoric peoples. Admittedly, this was a local effort with no wider potential, as clearly stated in its Introduction (Cultural Association 1994: 5-7). In the end, the Cultural Association did not circulate the book. However, participants of the survey remembered the case and registered it as a demonstration of the team's intellectual patronage over them.

In an effort to support them, a member of the Association of Friends of the Lake Settlement in Dispilio mentioned that the archaeologists were the only ones who supported and worked for the foundation of the museum. However, this demonstrated precisely that even in Dispilio the archaeological team had set its goals irrespective of the local community's concerns and according to what they as authorities on the subject felt was fitting. Of course, their views have influenced the local community. During the surveys, some locals said that what they want now is a museum and this appears to be because of what the archaeologists have said already.

Members of the excavation team in Dispilio were extremely critical of the local community's character. They called the village 'ugly' and drew comparisons to traditional village planning: a main square and a coffee shop under a tree

would definitely attract more visitors. They were also critical and condescending about the fact that locals were not actively trying to improve their economic condition by opening attractive shops to keep visitors in the area for longer. They were, however, aware of the community's difficulties and of their 'acute economic and social problems', as the members of the team referred to them. One of them described the community as 'peripheral and marginal'. However, only two members of the team considered the development of these communities through the perspective of life in rural Macedonia in the twentieth century. However, even this perspective did not soften their criticism. Instead, they devised ways to change this by turning the area close to the lake into 'the square that is missing'.

Perceptions that archaeologists hold for themselves, rightly or wrongly, and some times are shared by the public as well (Hourmouziadi 2009: 217) reinforce their attitude towards the public and, more specifically, local communities. Such is the notion of archaeologists working at their own expense, a self-sacrificing profession with minimum returns. The Head of a Directorate in the Ministry stated that although many things are being done in the field, 'only the archaeologist knows with how much effort'. Other relevant phrases that often came up were the 'struggle' and the 'zeal' of archaeologists to protect antiquities. A member of the excavation team in Dispilio could not stress enough the hard work she had put in and the sacrifices she had made. She believed that the local community had realised her devotion and commitment, had acknowledged it and respected her for this. These statements represent a reality regarding the current conditions in archaeological management and research. However, most of the time, they are misused to justify and self-justify the right of the 'noble' archaeologist to impose his or her will; playing up the top-down approach (on self-justification on the part of archaeologists, also see Herzfeld 1991).

The top-down approach archaeologists take towards local communities is also based on another, contradictory element of their professional identity. Apart from authority drawn from the long years of studies and specialisation and legislative premises, state archaeologists are also aware of their weakness in comparison to interests that enjoy political support. This seems to generate a sense of betrayal by the state that is derived from the fact that first of all, the political powers do not respect the law and they undermine them through under-funding, conflicting legislation and *ad hoc* decisions regarding what is considered as more relevant to economy, such as development and tourism infrastructure works. Therefore archaeologists cling tightly onto as much of the state power that they have, especially when it comes to weaker links of the chain, such as individual property rights or local administration. This became clearly obvious from the way that the representative of the Association of Greek Archaeologists differentiated state archaeologists from the state and the political leadership of the Ministry of Culture and Tourism in an effort to deny responsibility for the condition of Greek archaeology, even though state archaeologists constitute its main and primary body.

Another perception of archaeologists about archaeology, admittedly a decreasing one as generations pass, is the one of the almighty archaeologist who can do everything by him or herself. Therefore a state or a university archaeologist is expected to be just as well qualified to excavate, research, publish, curate exhibitions, and communicate with the public, without any further specialisation. The Archaeological Service has only recently recognised the need for more specialisations, i.e. museum studies. Even more recent fields of specialisation bring in holistic management and planning approaches, including evaluations. However, the Ministry has not yet recognised their distinctive role in archaeological management. This inadaptability and

inflexibility has resulted in the lack of self-reflection and evaluation of the archaeologists' work starting from the fundamental question of *why do we protect?*, as discussed above, to the purpose and effectiveness of more specific decisions and actions. One of the consequences of this attitude is the failure to be in position to appreciate and improve public perceptions of the restrictions and regulations necessary to protect and conserve the archaeological resource.

Moments of archaeologists' self-reflection and self-criticism were scarce throughout the interviews conducted for this research project. Even members of the excavation team in Dispilio rhetorically 'scratched' the surface of the question of protection, not because they saw it as necessary to consider it, but in order to emphasise the difference between them, the 'rich hobbyists', in a phrase used to demonstrate exactly how unnecessary the question is, and the local community, who can only perceive visible and tangible reasons behind the effort to protect. An unquestioned belief in the necessity to protect and conserve as granted constitutes the basis for all their assumptions regarding the rest of the world.

Archaeologists tended to raise questions relating to the local people's stance towards them while they rarely considered their own stance towards local people. They complained that local people did not participate in their events and stressed that it is impossible for them to participate in the community's life either because of time constraints and workload or because of presumed social incompatibility. They seemed not to realise how self-absorbed they were. Of course, some clarified that they did not see, or one might add, did not want to see, what they had in common with the locals and how they could come closer. They described their communication with the local community as one of 'co-habitation'. Most archaeologists had not considered their work in the context of economic, social and cultural conditions. In Krenides, although the university

archaeologist was critical of the way the Archaeological Service operated and shaped the relationship between archaeology and local communities, he did not mention anything about the role of the university team.

In Dispilio, according to all the members interviewed, what seems to have contributed positively to their relationship with the locals, for instance, the Ecomuseum, is their work. What was counterproductive was an unconnected factor. The bad start of the relationship was a result almost exclusively due to the attitude of the representative of the local church. The lack of a museum was a result of the activities — or lack thereof — of the local administration. The lack of other developmental initiatives was blamed on individuals and the nature of the community. The reason the Association did not play a bigger role was a result of the lack of money. The reason the local primary school did not visit more often was blamed on the staff. The lack of local attendance to the public events they organised was attributed to the locals' lack of interest. No one from the team considered the way the archaeologists handled these issues, or that they might have been partly responsible.

Regarding the locals' stance towards the archaeologists, the excavation team in Dispilio devised an explanation of their relationship based on one factor; the economic one. More than one member of the team said that whoever achieved economic benefit had a better relationship with them. The rest, maybe because they had high expectations, were either negative or indifferent. Some, who had not benefitted in any way, just did not care. However this analysis is over-simplistic, and only partly considers the economic impact of the fur industry decline and limits a wider understanding of their relationship with the locals.

It is possible that what they attribute to economic benefit is, in fact, an effect of the necessity of personal contact and the consequent formation of more

informed opinions on who the archaeologists are and what they did that would break down the stereotypes and lead to a better relationship. Another member emphasised this by saying that 'at least with the people we are in immediate contact with, either the workers or the neighbourhood' the relationship was good. It might also be an effect of the fact that people who have derived economic benefits were mainly those who ran businesses and for this reason, possibly were more open to furthering their field of action and engaging with external agents. These features, inherent to their personal and professional identities, subsequently made them more positive to archaeologists.

Despite the above theory regarding the economic factor in their relationship, a member of the team referred to the fact that locals did not pay to enter as 'a decision without meaning'. And it is true, because she prioritised presentation and interpretation. If she had examined the perception of the local people, she might have realised that very few would have visited the Ecomuseum so far, if there had been an entrance fee. Needless to say, she did not even mention the ethical issue of entrance fees to local communities. Therefore, the archaeological team applied a selective consideration of the local community to explain the factors that had shaped their relationship with them.

In addition none of the members of the team in Dispilio considered the ways in which they had attempted to reach out to the community. It is noteworthy that the university archaeologist in his public speech actually referred to boredom and incomprehensibility as an expected feature of any archaeological talk. Taking these two obstructions of any communication as given, he blamed the local communities for being uninterested in archaeology in his interview. It seems that they had not considered that archaeology can actually be presented in comprehensible terms and can even be exciting for lay people, and that there may be an alternative to boring presentations and that the municipality they

had assigned promotion of the events to, may not have been expert in marketing archaeology.

Even in their published work, members of the excavation team express their disappointment that locals "do not 'officially' visit the exhibition" next to the excavation workshop, they attribute locals' feeling that the antiquities belong to them to an incomprehensible 'psychological familiarisation' that 'does not allow them to act like typical visitors' (Hourmouziadi 2009: 211). They state with puzzlement that 'their [the locals'] impressions are dominated by the project's consequences in their everyday lives' (*idem*). Therefore, despite the efforts to publicise the archaeological work in Dispilio, the archaeologists perceive their role and the local community's role through the framework established for two centuries now by the Archaeological Service's practice (see 2.1.4): the archaeologists as providers of the scientific truth and the public as 'visitor' who, lacking specialized knowledge cannot formulate a legitimate approach to the archaeological material (Hourmouziadi 2002: 344), without any further reference to the ethical responsibility of information sharing on the part of archaeologists.

It is also true that they have not tried to evaluate their efforts so far. Their only measurement was an impression of the number of people who attended events. It seems as if it was considered enough to host the events for the sake of hosting them or for the archaeologists themselves. As a result, it seems unsurprising that the locals' interest decreased. Although one cannot say that the university archaeologist is the typical archaeologist who 'works for himself' and he and his team have tried, it seems that they had not tried to think 'outside the box' because they were not comfortable with relaxing their hold on their authority. The university archaeologist in Dispilio expressed his surprise and disappointment in the fact that when they excavated burials on site local people

developed their own theories about them according to their perceptions. Only a small minority was ready to believe 'what the archaeologist said'. The people's disbelief and challenge to his authority seemed incomprehensible to him.

The Director of an Ephorate mentioned as surprising and disturbing the fact that 'often we have to convince why we do not allow the construction of a high speed road next to the archaeological site or we do not allow construction in specific places or it is necessary for inspection to precede the issuing of a permit for an activity'. One wonders whether he expected everybody to know why, or that nobody would ask. In any case, it became obvious that he was not happy with the task of justifying his decisions, which also explained his further statement that he saw local actors and communities as 'supporters of mainly the work of protection'.

Regarding Dispilio, the Director of the Ephorate said that 'the relationship with the local community of Dispilio has never been disturbed or spoiled. The acquaintance with the locals is expanded constantly bringing forward the importance of the archaeological site of Dispilio'. According to his view, two court cases involving the university archaeologist and the representative of the local church did not constitute 'disturbance' and could be light-heartedly dismissed. The Director seemed to view the relationship between archaeology and the local community of Dispilio solely from his own perspective, the one of the almighty archaeologist, disturbed by having to justify his decisions.

Archaeologists with longer experience occasionally went as far as to blame the bad relationship with a particular local community on the 'idiosyncrasy of the people' (see the above comment of the university archaeologist in Philippi regarding the difference between Krenides and Olympia and Delphi). The university archaeologist in Dispilio affirmed that he received the same

indifference in every place he worked in Greece. One of them later admitted that the Archaeological Service was responsible for the fact that for five years now there is a waiting list for inspection of approximately 30 building plots that are waiting to be developed. It seems then that the tendency for archaeologists to attribute the negative aspects of their relationship to the actions of local communities particularities is a lot more common than anticipated, to the degree where one cannot talk about specific cases any more.

Despite all this, there is a common perception among archaeologists that local administrations had to help them. One of the members of the excavation team in Dispilio expressed exasperation when she was saying the she had asked long before for the municipality to cut the weeds before the excavation started and they had not sent anyone yet. She explicitly admitted that typically the municipality is right in not doing anything because it is an archaeological site and thus the responsibility of the Archaeological Service. But she maintained that in the spirit of good collaboration between the university excavation and the local archaeological service and the municipality, they should want to contribute by offering helpful services as ethical support of archaeologists' work. Another member of the excavation team referred to their collaboration with a couple of locals who knew how to work with reed as an occasion for them to 'see their knowledge being valued'. She overlooked entirely the importance of these locals' help to their project in aiding its authenticity, its relevance and its locality. She presented it as another case where the archaeologists did a favor to locals. By not recognising the mutual benefits of collaboration she further reinforced the trend towards arguments that result in an unbalanced relationship that either is in favour of archaeology and at the expense of local interests or in the other way around without any potential of reaching common ground.

It is true that the case of Dispilio constitutes an exception in that it is an excavation that has materially and immaterially benefited the local community, even if it is not widely recognized yet, by literally surrendering a product of their work and in that it has repeatedly made efforts to benefit the local community even more, successfully or not. So in this case, one would agree that the local administration is obliged to help them. Krenides is another exception because the local administration felt of its own volition that it was obliged to support archaeological work.

Therefore, top-down approaches apply even when there is provision for the participation of the public. This is because participation is pursued in the context of the archaeologists' perceptions of who their public is and what their public wants. Archaeologists perceive event rooms in new museums as evidence that Greek archaeology has become 'human-centric'.

5.6.2 Cultural Rhetoric

It became obvious, especially during the survey, that participants found it difficult to express themselves with clarity in general about culture and more particularly regarding the positive values and the benefits of archaeology. Their answers were extremely vague: 'something nice', 'something good', 'something great', 'something important', 'the best', 'I like it very much'. Conclusions of a survey among students that participants maintain a superficial and vague understanding of archaeology may be relevant to this (Dassiou 2005).

This difficulty was also noticed during the in-depth interviews, even the ones conducted with archaeologists. Interviewees resorted to the use of generalisations that represented their personal opinions but were neither based

on arguments nor on data (e.g. 'we should see a museum as a living organism, as long as we receive something from a museum, a museum is not dead').

I have termed this kind of discourse that the entire range of participants used for a variety of reasons as 'cultural rhetoric'. According to one's position in the system, there were political uses, nationalist ones, uses aimed at evading responsibility and disorienting uses. One could argue that its main purpose and consequence at the same time is that it dominates the public discourse on archaeological heritage and values. Therefore it hinders the development of a discourse that will expose the uses and abuses of archaeology and more importantly, the reasons behind them. In the end, it renders pragmatic approaches and solutions to the field's issues impossible and results in the misinformation of the public about archaeology.

A currently prevalent example of the nationalist use of 'cultural rhetoric' is the one that refers to 'the sacredness of the past'. In an exaggerated context, it was usually accompanied by comments such as that 'every stone we find in the excavation is sacred'. Perceptions of reverence accompanied tightly the sacredness discourse (e.g. 'we should be kneeling [in front of antiquities]', '[Greeks] have to worship [antiquities]'; on the sacralisation of the discourse on antiquities see Hamilakis and Yalouri 1999; Hamilakis 2007: 35-48). Excavation workers, as Deltsou noted in regard to the town of Vasiliko (2009), and survey participants possibly mainly engage with such a discourse in an effort to impress with their love of antiquities and to differentiate themselves from their perceived attitude of the rest of the local community (e.g.'they [the locals] do not care because they are ignorant about antiquity', 'they [the locals] go in [the archaeological site] and see only stones, stones, they do not know the subject'). Another aspect was feelings of national inferiority combined with admiration for foreigners. Again, workers who experienced the interest of tourists in the

sites mainly expressed this (e.g. 'I am upset that Germans come…and Italians and English, Germans come and sit down there [in the archaeological site] and look at them [the antiquities] and take pictures of them, I am glad about this and I say why are we so clueless?'; see also how this admiration has influenced local opionion on the relevance of archaeology in 5.1.2).

Other non-archaeologists often reflected the strong connection between archaeology, high culture and 'our nation'. They also talked about the obligation to protect and conserve for the sake of the coming generations and about our duty to 'transmit to everyone the messages emitted by these sites'. Again there was no actual reference to the reasons why 'our nation' in particular is so tied into high culture in comparison to others, to what future generations will gain if we protect and conserve heritage and what is so important about these 'messages' that deserve transmitting.

Archaeologists frequently used mottos regarding archaeology as a public good that should be enjoyed and appreciated by everybody, that the benefits from culture and our contact with it are invaluable, that it is highly important that the people are the recipients of the archaeologists' work and that it should all 'return' to them. These were rarely elaborated on with more specific supporting statements on the ways that one might currently enjoy and appreciate archaeology, what the actual benefits from contact with archaeology were or the reasons why it is important for people to be recipients of the work of archaeologists.

In the context of this rhetoric the economic importance of archaeology was understated, as if it is disgraceful to put money and archaeology together, even in words (e.g. 'Forget about the economic value'; on the contrast between the 'sacred' and the 'profane' aspect of antiquity see Hamilakis 2007: 272-85).

Instead the cultural value is overstressed, though rarely talked through at any level of detail (e.g. '…Archaeological Service and culture are meanings to my opinion unbreakably connected', '…culture is something wide that cannot be caged and dependent on few people'). However, the issue of tourism came up consistently and was discussed under the new motto that 'tourism is Greece's heavy industry' (see also the discussion on the economic relevance of archaeology 5.1.4).

Another strand within the 'cultural rhetoric' is that of the 'high cost of culture'. An Assistant Director of an Ephorate used this as an excuse for keeping the museum of Philippi closed for restoration for fifteen years. At the same time, she stated that a museum's economic reciprocity could not determine whether the Ephorate should renovate it or not. So during a fifteen-year period a new museum was founded and two existing ones were also renovated. None of them had ever reached the high visitor numbers of the museum in Philippi that stayed closed for fifteen years. The reason offered for this situation was that 'just because people don't come it doesn't mean that we should abandon them [the other museums]'. But the Archaeological Service apparently did not attempt to counter the lack of visitors either. There seems to be a contradiction between the two statements: acknowledgement of high cost as a problem but disregarding of it in decision-making. This contradiction demonstrates the lack of accountable, strategic management, based on criteria, collaborations and research. This is what rhetorical statements on the cost of culture conceal.

In the same way, the representative of the Association of Greek Archaeologists talked about the shrinking number of research excavations conducted by the Archaeological Service due to lack of funding. He did not however refer to ways through which the Service was trying to overcome this situation other than by halting research. The 'public good' discourse was used instead, to veil

the fact that the Archaeological Service had resigned behind what he presented as a 'universal acceptance', that archaeological resource management is an activity that will always be financially in deficit and therefore the state is the only agent who can afford to maintain it. Public transportation was used as an example of another stately managed public good that is in constant debt. However, recent governmental decisions to privatise public transportation demonstrated the risks archaeological resource management is taking by not adopting a more rationalised and strategic management approach. Presenting high cost as an obstacle, without considering measures to mitigate it, reveals the irresponsibility and insufficiency of current archaeological management.

Another statement that cropped up in combination with high cost was the notion that 'culture does not bring immediate returns'. This was also used to mask the fact that there is very little understanding of the returns of archaeology in general, social, cultural and economic terms. And it is normal since such approaches to archaeological work are not considered as proper archaeology. They were considered to be relevant to sociologists and economic analysts instead.

Finally, another popular strand in the 'cultural rhetoric', especially for older generations of archaeologists, is that archaeology is not relevant to politics and should not be involved with it. Vague statements were expressed in support of this argument. For instance, 'culture should not interfere with politics, that is, every meaning of culture is beyond all of these and if culture could speak, it would say other things to people',

It seems that a culture of resorting to vague and theoretical statements is dominant in the archaeological discourse. When it comes to approaching the real potentials and the problems of Greek archaeological resource management,

any practical, economic and pragmatic approach sounds foreign. The determining factor seems to be an attitude of 'we do what we can' rather than a set of defined values from where specific criteria stem, according to what has been defined as effective and sustainable. At least none of the interviewees referred to anything explicitly as such. Therefore people have to rely on wishful and abstract statements to defend archaeological work.

6. CONCLUSIONS

Several developments have impacted and reshaped archaeology in the last thirty years. The great variety of issues that have been investigated under the rubric of public archaeology, of projects that have aimed at public engagement and of methods adopted to explore the public's relationship with archaeology have greatly enriched the discipline. Most importantly, it has undergone a re-consideration of its aims, its theoretical perspectives and its practices. Today, it is widely accepted that there is neither one single past nor an authoritative version of 'the past'. Different groups and individuals have approached the past in a range of ways and each one of these approaches is as respected as the rest, as long as it does not compromise that of any other group.

These premises have formed the conditions for the development of a participatory and inclusive way of managing archaeological resources. Intergovernmental organisations and NGOs promote the value-based approach to archaeological management, which ensures that all values assigned to a cultural resource are represented in its management in a balanced way. Such a management context is based on the transparent and equal sharing of information and provides a platform where all issues are identified and thoroughly discussed, democratically with all interested parties, until common ground for solutions is found. The success of such a management system lies in the premise that solutions that are decided with the agreement of all parties concerned are applied more effectively and have enduring results. It thus constitutes the most ethical and sustainable way for archaeological resources management.

In spite of the evidently beneficial impact of these developments and their advantages for efficient and sustainable archaeological management, Greek

archaeology still clings to its original form of organisation and management as developed in the nineteenth century, and founded on the premises of exclusive state ownership and management of archaeological resources. Although this system has produced positive results in the area of protection, it has also had negative consequences that are becoming more and more apparent.

Most importantly, the way the system has been implemented has resulted in a discontinuity in the relationship of archaeology with local communities. Several factors were found to have contributed to this and each one operates differently in each case. The most influential factor is undoubtedly the national narrative that has dictated the role of the past and of archaeology in accordance with the western notion of *Hellenism* and its re-appropriation in domestic terms. The prevalence of the Classical period of the ancient Greek past, as promoted up to the present day in archaeological museums, in public education and in the media, has led to either the bolstering of local identity and pride in local archaeological heritage, as the cases of Delphi and Philippi demonstrate, or to its undermining through comparison with a more glorified era, as in the case of Dispilio.

The position of archaeological resources in the national narrative further influences the level of attention, both national and international, that archaeological sites and in turn, local communities receive. This entails more measures for protection and site-development processes with a distancing and formalising impact on the local communities' relationship with them. It also entails the operation of resources as organised archaeological sites with potential, though not certain, economic relevance to the local community. Where a site was economically relevant, for instance in Delphi, a good relationship was evident. The local community was appreciative of the economic viability it ensured through tourism. However, there were also

adverse consequences that had not been considered before, such as the limitations of a local economy exclusively based on tourism and the social consequences of the overflow of visitors. In cases of non-materialised economic potential, for instance in Krenides, while the local community and the archaeologists pursued their 'lives' in parallel, their relationship was still rather positive mainly thanks to the national significance attributed to the archaeological site and the limited intervention of protection measures in the life of the community.

More importantly, archaeologists, the formal carriers of archaeological practice, also maintain in their professional identity the authority of the past as a national resource and project a self-centred and top-down approach, even in cases where their archaeology does not fit the national narrative, such as Dispilio. Archaeology is thus presented as a self-sufficient field, and enjoys the authority of its national mission. Even if some archaeologists do not agree with this presentation of the discipline, they do not realise that the outside world still associates them with it and either undermines them because the people find them unimportant by comparison to this presentation or they attribute to them 'due respect'.

Each local community responds to these conditions with respect to its own socio-political and economic features. This variation is clearly demonstrated in the three case studies that were intensively examined for this thesis. Delphi, a community of Old Greece, experienced the 'Great Excavations' of the nineteenth century, played a determinant role in the development of the archaeological site following its emergence, was discovered by tourism in the post-war period, and developed a service-based economy at that time. It was thus in a better position to negotiate the terms of its relationship with archaeology and archaeologists. In Krenides, a semi-urban centre in a

predominantly farming area inhabited by refugees from Asia Minor has not yet completed one hundred years since annexation to the Greek state, and the community has developed in parallel to and almost irrespectively of the archaeological site. Dispilio, a rather isolated community that developed thanks to the fur industry, is a modern community with little history, although just as important to the locals.

A factor that is present in all of these cases is the place of the archaeological resource in community life. Delphi, for instance, is associated with the Delphic Festival that few of the locals now still remember or have heard about. The few events that had been organised on the archaeological site are no longer allowed. In Krenides, the Philippi Festival has contributed immensely to a feeling of appropriation of the site, the formulation of memories and the immediate experience of it. In Dispilio, although the local community has no reason to associate with the archaeological site, the survey showed that despite this they do. Here, the archaeological site has been the cause of the removal from the area of important aspects of social life, such as the Ascension Fair and the community football field.

Finally, another factor was revealed, termed 'cultural rhetoric'. This is directly connected with all of the above but most importantly with the national narrative. It constitutes its re-appropriation by the individual and its manipulation for the sake of an argument that can only stand within the context of that national discourse. It is this factor that hinders any potential for the renegotiation of the place of the past and of archaeology in Greek society, and does not allow for the development of an alternative discourse. Its recognition and further investigation within archaeology and the politics of the past discourse may contribute to an understanding of the finer affinities and

complexities of how the national narrative has been used and re-appropriated by non-state agents and the people in general (Kotsakis 2003).

A contradiction was identified at the core of local communities' appreciation of archaeology. Although the historical, educational and social values of archaeology were immediately recognised, its potential economic relevance by far exceeded any of its other perceived advantages for local communities. This alludes to a shift in the public values archaeology possesses, as identified even by archaeologists.

In regards to the activities of the Archaeological Service, protection and conservation were found to be its main priorities, with presentation and interpretation subordinated to them, not only in terms of resources invested but also in relation to their understanding within the framework of 'integrated protection'. The Archaeological Service has thus formulated its own perception of who the public are and what the public want in accordance with what best serves protection, and has prescribed a very specific role for the public in legislation. It comes then as no surprise that people who were found to engage more with the national archaeological discourse in local communities were those with less education and who were not active in the employment market, presumably not the most promising social group for the support of archaeology in the future. As a consequence, strategies for responding to the changing needs of local communities were also found to require further elaboration because archaeologists have not yet come to see them as their own concern. Greek archaeology was therefore found to perceive and pursue its role in a very narrowly defined way, and although it is nominally granted an important socio-political role, its actual relevance is limited.

In spite of constant challenges to the Archaeological Service's decisions and actions, motivated most frequently by issues concerning private property, the authority of Greek archaeology has never been challenged so far. Archaeology in Greece has not felt the impact of the changes that much of the discipline has gone through in the last thirty years elsewhere in the world. This is owing to archaeology's significance for national identity, a highly political role although people do not perceive it as such, which is in conflict with the discipline's current call to serve economic development. However, the problems this incompatibility causes are felt every day in regard to the current system of archaeological management, and the need for more active engagement with other quarters of society, not only with the archaeological resource itself but with its protection and conservation as well.

Furthermore, there are groups in today's civil society that are willing to challenge the Archaeological Service's implementation of archaeological management, on the basis of their right to participate in the process of protection. These are individual civilians, not archaeologists, who are concerned members of local communities and with a social and political background that gives them the confidence to even face the Archaeological Service in court, not for their personal gain or property but to defend the way that they perceive a public resource should be managed. These cases will proliferate in the future and eventually result in a shift to another paradigm in Greek archaeological resources management, one that has already been foreseen by legislators, and that will allow for more intervention in what is now considered a state affair.

In relation to the ultimate question that this research project raises, *'for whom is archaeology practiced in Greece?'*, it became evident that in spite of good intentions, archaeology is not practiced with the clear and deliberate intention

of producing public benefit. Rather, it has conveniently settled into a close relationship with the state and has at times played, willingly or unwillingly, its role in national history and politics. The current system of archaeological resource management might have been effective so far in protection and conservation, but is now hindering understanding of the widening meaning of protection, and thus restricting its potentially greater role and relevance in contemporary society. Although it would be wrong to say that archaeology in Greece is practiced to serve the archaeologists or the state bureaucracy, it is fair to assert that, as currently practiced, it is not benefiting the public to the extent that it could. The need to redefine *why archaeology is practiced* emerges as a result, as this would allow for an urgently needed realignment along the lines suggested in this thesis. This is the particular course Greek archaeology has to take, considering its development to this point, in order to realise its potential in terms of public engagement and value.

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Abbreviations
CSF: Community Support Framework
EEC: Environmental Education Centre
GCI: The Getty Conservation Institute
HERAC: Hellenic Rock Art Centre

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APPENDIX I Timeline of Modern Greek History

(after Clogg 1992: 269–75)

1821	Outburst of revolt in Peloponnese- The beginning of the War of Independence
1827	Assembly of Troezene adopts new Constitution and elects Kapodistrias as President
1831	Assassination of President Kapodistrias
1833	Arrival of King Otto
1863	Prince Christian William Ferdinand Adolphus George of the Danish Holstein-Sonderburg- Glucksburg dynasty becomes George I, King of the Hellenes
1909	Military coup at Goudi, Athens, leads to downfall of government
1912	Outbreak of first Balkan war: Greece, Serbia, Bulgaria and Montenegro attack the Ottoman Empire
1923	Treaty of Lausanne between Greece and Turkey after the Greek army is driven from Asia Minor- The destruction of Smyrna
1940	Italian invasion in Greece- Greek counterattack into Albania
1941	German invasion in Greece
1943	Outbreak of civil war within resistance to Germans
1944	Liberation of Greece-Greece to British sphere of influence
1945	Varkiza agreement ends communist insurgency
1946	Election victory to royalists- Beginning of civil war
1947	Truman Doctrine: massive U.S. military and economic assistance to national government
1949	Formal close of civil war
1964	Centre Union wins elections with decisive parliamentary majority
1965	Resignation of Georgios Papandreou after constitutional clash with King Constantine
1967	Military coup
1974	Collapse of military regime and substitution with civil government by Konstantinos Karamanlis
1975	New Constitution
1981	Andreas Papandreou forms first socialist government- Greece enters European Community

APPENDIX II Summary Table of Data

Types of data/analysis	Data	Comments
Survey: structured interviews/quantitative	284 questionnaires	98 (Philippi) 102 (Dispilio) 84 (Delphi)
Semi-structured interviews/qualitative	Philippi: a university archaeologist, two permanent state archaeologists, a representative of the municipality council of Kavala on the Philippi Festival, two representatives of the municipality of Philippi, a representative of the Diocese, a representative of the Environmental Education Centre in Philippi, a representative of the Hellenic Rock Art Centre and two former excavation workers (11)	Including 14 archaeologists and 15 members of the local community
	Dispilio: a university archaeologist, a permanent state archaeologist, a temporary state archaeologist, three university excavation associates, a representative of the municipality of Makednon and two representatives of former local administrations, a representative of the local church, a member of the local Association of Friends of the lake settlement, a former excavation worker, members of the local youth club and a public speech by the university archaeologist (14)	
	A director, a head of sector and an archaeologist in the Ministry of Culture and Tourism, a representative of the board of the Association of Greek Archaeologists,	
Semi-structured interviews/qualitative	Comments of survey participants	
Field notes/qualitative	During fieldwork in the three case studies	

State budget/quantitative	Data on annual state expenses from 1999 to 2007	
National Statistical Service/quantitative	Population in the case studies areas Visitor numbers of archaeological sites and museums in Philippi and Delphi Economic activity by region Economic activity in tourism by region	
Archival material/qualitative	Formal communication between the Ephorate and the Community of Dispilio concerning the archaeological site ICOMOS- Documentation Centre archive regarding the aluminium plant in Delphi	
Newspaper articles/qualitative	Newspaper reports on the activity of the AS, the meetings of the Central Archaeological Council, museum visitation and other archaeological matters	
Conference proceedings/qualitative	Proceedings of archaeological and museological conferences in Greece	
Communication/qualitative	Communication with the Ministry of Culture and Tourism regarding statistical data on museums' and sites' ticket numbers	
Promotional material/qualitative	Municipality of Philippi and Ministry of Tourism leaflets for the publicity of tourist attractions of the area Ministry of Tourism and Prefecture of Kastoria leaflets for the publicity of tourist attractions of the area Municipality of Delphi brochure on the history of Delphi	

APPENDIX III Questionnaire on Archaeology in Krenides, Dispilio and Delphi

Part I- Profile questions

1. What is your gender?

    1. Male 2. Female

2. To which age group do you belong?

    1. 18-24 2. 25-39 3. 40-54 4. 55-64 5. 65-79 6. 80 and over

3. What is your nationality?

    1. Greek 2. Other (specify)

4. What is your occupation?

    1. NACE A-B 2. NACE C-F 3. NACE G-Q 4. Unemployed 5.Undergraduate/Graduate Student 6. Retired 7. Housewife

5. What is the highest educational level you have reached?

    1. Primary school 2. Junior high school 3. High school 4. University or other after high school

6. For how many years in total have you lived in Krenides/Dispilio/Delphi?

    1. Less than 3 2. 3-10 3. 11-25 4. More than 25

Part II- Perceptions of archaeology and relevance to it

7. What do you think of when you hear the word 'archaeology'?

8. On a scale of 1 (not interested at all) to 10 (extremely interested), how much would you say you are interested in archaeology?

9. What is the primary source of information of what you know about archaeology?

    1. School 2. The media (newspapers, magazines, TV etc.) 3. Experience/My environs/Life here 4. Work 5. Books 6. Other (specify)

10. What do you associate archaeology most closely with?

    1. With ancient art 2. With contemporary politics 3. With life in the past 4. With national history 5. With tourism 6. Other (specify)

11. On a scale of 1(strongly disagree) to 10 (strongly agree), do you agree or disagree with the following statements?

    1. Greek archaeology's national mission is to prove Greece's glorious past.

    2. Ancient Greek civilisation is the oldest in the world and unsurpassable by any other ancient civilisation.

    3. The monuments of the past constitute one of the most important sources, if not the most important one, of Greek national identity.

12. On a scale of 1 (not relevant at all) to 10 (extremely relevant), do you regard archaeology as relevant to our lives today? Why?

13. Do you believe that archaeology has value and if yes, what do you believe is the most important value archaeology has?

1. Historical-Scientific 2. Political 3. Educational-Intellectual 4. Economic 5. Social-Cultural 6. Other (specify) 7. No, archaeology has no value.

14. What does one have to do according to the law when he/she finds antiquities in Greece?

15. Who is responsible for antiquities according to the law in Greece?

16. Have you ever needed to contact the Archaeological Service? If yes, what was the reason?

1. Yes (specify) 2. No

16a. If yes, do you feel that your relationship to archaeology in general is influenced by state bureaucracy and if so, is it influenced positively or negatively?

1. Yes 1a. Positively 1b. Negatively 2. No, it is not influenced.

17. Who do you believe is most concerned with archaeology today?

1. The state and those responsible 2. Those in the tourist industry 3. All Greeks 4. The local communities in each archaeological site 5. Others (specify)

Part III-Relation to local archaeology and interest in engaging with it

18. Do you know of an archaeological site and/or museum in your area? How did you find out about this archaeological site(s) or museum(s)?

1. Yes (specify) 2. No

19. Have you ever visited this archaeological site and/or museum? If yes, do you remember when you last visited them, or [in Delphi] how often have you visited them?

1. Yes (specify) 2. No

[In Delphi] 1. Every day 2. Every week 3. Every month 4. Every six months 5. Every year 6. Every three years 7. I do not remember. 8. I have never visited it.

19a. What was the reason for your last visit?

[In Delphi] 1. To stroll/walk/exercise 2. With grand/children 3. Out of curiosity 4. For an event 5. With visitors 6. With school 7. To work 8. Other (specify)

19ai. What impression did you get from your last visit?

1. Excellent 2. Very good 3. Good 4. Neither good nor bad 5. Bad 6. Very bad 7. Unacceptable

19b. If no, why?

20. Do you feel that these archaeological sites/museums belong to you/constitute part of your community and if not, to whom would you say that they belong?

1. Yes 2. No (specify)

21. Do you feel that the people who lived in the area from Neolithic times and left these ruins are your ancestors? Do you feel any relation to them?

1. Yes 2. No

22. Do you feel that you have a kind of responsibility for, and/or rights to these archaeological sites/museums because you live so close to them?

1. Yes 2. No 3. Responsibility, yes, rights, no.

23. Do you feel that information on the archaeological research conducted in the area is at your disposal?

1. Yes 2. No

24. Do you regard the archaeologists' research and interpretation regarding the settlement as reliable? If no, why?

1. Yes 2. No (specify)

25. What would you do if you wanted to become informed about the most recent results of archaeological research in the area?

1. Ask family or friends who might know
2. Read the local newspaper
3. Visit the excavation site and ask the archaeologists themselves
4. Ask the archaeologists if you meet them in Krenides/Dispilio/Delphi
5. Other (specify)

26. How would you prefer to be informed about the archaeological research in your area?

1. Museum visit
2. Local television
3. Local newspaper/magazine or other printed material
4. Books
5. Public lectures or announcements in public areas of the community
6. Guided tour in the area of work
7. Volunteer participation in the excavation
8. Family/friends
9. Internet
10. Other (specify)

27. [In Dispilio] Do you know that the archaeological excavation of the lake settlement is open to the public while the archaeologists work?

1. Yes 2. No

28. On a scale of 1 (not interested at all) to 10 (extremely interested), if the excavations were open to the public while the archaeologists were digging or [in Dispilio] now that the excavation is open, how interested do you think people like you would be in visiting it?

29. On a scale of 1 (not interested at all) to 10 (extremely interested), how interested do you think people like you would be in participating voluntarily in the excavation, if such an initiative was taken by archaeologists?

30. What disadvantages do you believe derive from the proximity of Krenides/Dispilio/Delphi to these archaeological sites/museum/excavations?

31. What advantages do you believe derive from the proximity of Krenides/Dispilio/Delphi to these archaeological sites/museum/excavations?

32. Do you believe that these archaeological sites/museums improve the quality of life in your area?

1. Yes 2. No

33. Do you believe that archaeology has been an impediment to the development of your area?

1. Yes 2. No

34. Do you think that the community of Krenides/Delphi, the local authorities and the cultural associations should have a say in the management of the archaeological sites/museums?

[In Dispilio] Do you believe that it is better that the Municipality of Makednon manages the Ecomuseum instead of the Ministry of Culture and the Archaeological Service?

1. Yes 2. No

35. For whom do you believe that archaeology is practiced today in Greece and in your area in particular, or for whom do you believe that archaeologists work today in Greece and in your area in particular?

[In Delphi] 1. For everyone's benefit (society, discipline etc) 2. For their own benefit (their research interest, their studies etc) 3. Both previous answers 4. For the state. They do their job. 5. Other (specify)

Part IV- About culture in the area in general

36. Have you ever visited other archaeological sites/museums?

1. Yes 2. No

37. If yes, how often do you visit an archaeological site in general?

1. Almost never 2. Once every three years 3. About once a year 4. More than once a year

38. [In Krenides] Do you know of the Philippi Festival? If yes, do you attend it?

1. Yes 2. No

38. [In Dispilio] Do you know whether your area has special environmental value?

1. Yes 2. No

38. [In Delphi] Is Delphi included in the UNESCO World Heritage List?

1. Yes 2. No

38a. [In Krenides] If yes, how regularly would you say that you attend the festival's events?

1. Almost never 2. Once every three years 3. About once a year 4. More than once a year

38a. [In Dispilio] Do you know of the European network 'Natura 2000'?

1. Yes 2. No

APPENDIX IV Frequency Distribution and Contingency Tables

Table 3 What is your employment sector?

		Krenides		Dispilio		Delphi	
		Freq.	Valid Percent	Freq.	Valid Percent	Freq.	Valid Percent
Employed	Primary sector (NACE A-B)	5	6.1	5	5.4	0	0
	Secondary sector (NACE C- F)	9	11.0	12	12.9	0	0
	Tertiary sector (NACE G- Q)	22	26.8	33	35.5	59	70.2
Total		36		50		59	
Unemployed	Unemployed	1	1.2	9	9.7	6	7.1
	Undergraduate/Graduate student	6	7.3	10	10.8	1	1.2
	Retired	18	22.0	7	7.5	15	17.9
	Housewife	21	25.6	17	18.3	3	3.6
Total		46		43		25	
Total		82	100.0	93	100.0	84	100.0
Missing		16		9			
Total		98		102			

The number of missing values in the cases of Krenides and Dispilio refers to private employees who did not specify their employment sector. They were added to the number of employed participants resulting in 50 employed participants in Krenides and 59 in Dispilio.

Table 4 What is your highest educational qualification?

		Krenides		Dispilio		Delphi	
		Freq.	Valid Percent	Freq.	Valid Percent	Freq.	Valid Percent
Compulsory or less	Primary school	31	31.6	28	27.5	10	12.0
	Junior high school	17	17.3	18	17.6	14	16.9
More than compulsory	High school	43	43.9	45	44.1	45	54.2
	University graduate	7	7.1	11	10.8	14	16.9
Total		98	100.0	102	100.0	83	100.0

Table 5 Gender by employment condition in Krenides

		Employment condition		Total
		Employed	Unemployed	
Gender	Male	33	18	51
		66%	38%	52%
	Female	17	30	47
		34%	63%	48%
Total		50	48	98
		100%	100%	100%

(chi-square= 7.970, df= 1, *p*= .005)

Table 6 Gender by employment condition in Dispilio

		Employment condition		Total
		Employed	Unemployed	
Gender	Male	40	16	56
		68%	37%	55%
	Female	19	27	46
		32%	63%	45%
Total		59	43	102
		100%	100%	100%

(chi-square= 9.398, df= 1, *p*= .002)

Table 7 Gender by years of residence in Krenides

		Years of residence			Total
		For less than 10 years	For 11 to 25 years	For more than 25 years	
Gender	Male	4	11	36	51
		21%	44%	67%	52%
	Female	15	14	18	47
		79%	56%	33%	48%
Total		19	25	54	98
		100%	100%	100%	100%

(chi-square= 12.586, df= 2, *p*= .002)

Table 8 Gender by years of residence in Delphi

		Years of residence			Total
		For less than 10 years	For 11 to 25 years	For more than 25 years	
Gender	Male	4	4	37	45
		36%	22%	67%	54%
	Female	7	14	18	39
		64%	78%	33%	46%
Total		11	18	55	84
		100%	100%	100%	100%

(chi-square= 12.573, df= 2, *p*= .002)

Table 9 Age by educational level in Krenides

		Age			Total
		18 to 39 years old	40 to 64 years old	65 years old or more	
Education	Compulsory education or less	12	22	14	48
		27.9%	56.4%	87.5%	49.0%
	More than compulsory education	31	17	2	50
		72.1%	43.6%	12.5%	51.0%
Total		43	39	16	98
		100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%

(chi-square= 18.003, df= 2, *p*= .000)

Table 10 Age by educational level in Dispilio

		Age			Total
		18 to 39 years old	40 to 64 years old	65 years old or more	
Education	Compulsory education or less	5	29	12	46
		10.9%	67.4%	92.3%	45.1%
	More than compulsory education	41	14	1	56
		89.1%	32.6%	7.7%	54.9%
Total		46	43	13	102
		100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%

(chi-square= 42.139, df= 2, *p*= .000)

Table 11 Age by educational level in Delphi

		Age			Total
		18 to 39 years old	40 to 64 years old	65 years old or more	
Education	Compulsory education or less	3	14	7	24
		8.3%	38.9%	63.6%	28.9%
	More than compulsory education	33	22	4	59
		91.7%	61.1%	36.4%	71.1%
Total		36	36	11	83
		100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%

(chi-square= 15.613, df= 2, *p*= .000)

Table 12 Age by frequency of attendance to the the festival in Krenides

		Age			Total
		18 to 39 years old	40 to 64 years old	65 years old or more	
Frequency of attendance to the festival	Rarely or once every three years	13	10	11	34
		39.4%	26.3%	73.3%	39.5%
	About or more than once a year	20	28	4	52
		60.6%	73.7%	26.7%	60.5%
Total		33	38	15	86
		100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%

(chi-square= 9.946, df= 2, *p*= .007)

Table 13 Educational level by employment condition in Krenides

		Educational level		Total
		Compulsory education or less	More than compulsory education	
Employment	Employed	15	35	50
		31%	70%	51%
	Unemployed	33	15	48
		69%	30%	49%
Total		48	50	98
		100%	100%	100%

(chi-square= 14.715, df= 1, *p*= .000)

Table 14 Educational level by employment condition in Delphi

		Educational level		Total
		Compulsory education or less	More than compulsory education	
Employment	Employed	11	48	59
		46%	81%	71%
	Unemployed	13	11	24
		54%	19%	29%
Total		24	59	83
		100%	100%	100%

(chi-square= 10.473, df= 1, *p*= .001)

Table 15 For how many years in total have you lived in Krenides/Dispilio/Delphi?

	Krenides		Dispilio		Delphi	
	Freq.	Valid Percent	Freq.	Valid Percent	Freq.	Valid Percent
For less than 3 years	6	6.1	1	1.0	2	2.4
For 3 to 10 years	13	13.3	7	6.9	9	10.7
For 11 to 25 years	25	25.5	36	35.3	18	21.4
For more than 25 years	54	55.1	58	56.9	55	65.5
Total	98	100.0	102	100.0	84	100.0

Table 16 What do you think of when you hear the word 'archaeology'?- All categories

Krenides	Freq.	Valid Percent	Dispilio	Freq.	Valid Percent	Delphi	Freq.	Valid Percent
Site/s	4	4.1	Way of life of ancient people	2	2.0	Monuments	5	6.0
Excavations	2	2.0	Excavations	7	6.9	Museum/s	4	4.8
People living in the old times	2	2.0	Monuments	4	3.9	Discipline	2	2.4
Ancient buildings/Ruins	2	2.0	Statues	3	2.9	Antiquity	1	1.2
Discoveries/Findings	3	3.1	Discipline/ Research	3	2.9	Ancient Greek culture	2	2.4
Ancient Greece/Greeks	2	2.0	Antiquity	1	1.0	Ancient Greece	1	1.2
Bones of ancient Greeks	1	1.0	Antiquities	3	2.9	Findings	1	1.2
Antiquity	1	1.0	Ancient culture	1	1.0	Culture	8	9.6
Ancient culture	1	1.0	Source of information about how all started	1	1.0	Greek culture	3	3.6
The archaeologists	2	2.0	Finding of ancient objects/ Findings	6	5.9	History	6	7.2
The archaeological service	1	1.0	Search/ Digging	2	2.0	Prehistory	1	1.2
Culture	12	12.2	Artefacts	4	3.9	The past	1	1.2
History	5	5.1	Ancient Greece	2	2.0	The people who are preoccupied with it	1	1.2
The past	1	1.0	The archaeologists	1	1.0	The Parthenon	1	1.2

Myth	1	1.0	Museums	1	1.0	The twelve gods	1	1.2
Documentaries	1	1.0	Culture	7	6.9	The site/ museum in Delphi	25	30.1
Books	1	1.0	The past	3	2.9	My grandmother's narration about how they left the old village	1	1.2
Philip the Second/ Alexander the Great	3	3.1	The old times	3	2.9	Ancestors	1	1.2
Aphrodite of Melos	1	1.0	History	2	2.0	Something distant in time	1	1.2
Olympia	1	1.0	Prehistory	2	2.0	Something I like/ sacred/ invaluable	9	10.8
The ancient theatre in Philippi	8	8.2	The Acropolis	1	1.0	Difficulties, expropriations, prohibitions, 'arrangement'	6	7.2
My/ Our place	5	5.1	Alexander the Great	1	1.0	Nothing	2	2.4
The site/ antiquities in Philippi	6	6.1	The lake settlement in my area	9	8.8	Total	83	100.0
Ancestors/ Roots	3	3.1	Employment	2	2.0			
Employment	3	3.1	My husband who is working for the archaeologists	1	1.0			
My son who is working for the archaeologists	1	1.0	Nice/ Good/ Important thing	8	7.8			
The fact that archaeologists used to stay at my house	1	1.0	Interests, money, problems, dangerous, dictatorship, stones	6	5.9			
Curiosity, if they existed and how they lived	1	1.0	Everything	1	1.0			
Something nice/ I like/ valuable	10	10.2	Everything old	1	1.0			

Trouble, problem, mess, bribe/ Boring/ I'm sick of it.	6	6.1	Something ancient/ old	5	4.9			
Something ancient	3	3.1	Nothing	4	3.9			
Nothing	1	1.0	Fossils	1	1.0			
Stones	3	3.1	Holes, stones	4	3.9			
Total	98	100.0	Total	102	100.0			

Table 17 What do you think of when you hear the word 'archaeology'? - Reduced categories

	Krenides		Dispilio		Delphi	
	Frequency	Valid Percent	Frequency	Valid Percent	Frequency	Valid Percent
Accurate associations	21	21.4	40	39.2	15	18.5
Reasonable associations	21	21.4	18	17.6	20	24.7
Synecdoche	5	5.1	2	2.0	2	2.5
Appropriated associations	31	31.6	16	15.7	28	34.6
Value judgments	16	16.3	14	13.7	15	18.5
Vague associations	3	3.1	7	6.9	0	0
Nothing	1	1.0	4	3.9	1	1.2
False	0	0	1	1.0	0	0
Total	98	100.0	102	100.0	81	100.0

Table 18 What do you think of when you hear the word 'archaeology' by knowledge of 'Natura 2000' in Dispilio

		Associations of archaeology					
		Accurate	Reasonable	Other (e.g. vague synecdoche, nothing, false)	Appropriated	Value	Total
Have you heard of the environmental network 'Natura 2000'?	Yes	14	8	4	2	9	37
		36%	47%	29%	13%	64%	37
	No	25	9	10	14	5	63
		64%	53%	71%	88%	36%	63
Total		39	17	14	16	14	100
		100	100	100	100	100	100

(chi-square= 9.777, df= 4, *p*= .044)

Table 19 How much would you say you are interested in archaeology?

	Krenides		Dispilio		Delphi	
	Freq.	Valid Percent	Freq.	Valid Percent	Freq.	Valid Percent
Uninterested	14	14.3	22	21.8	3	3.6
Neither interested nor uninterested	22	22.4	22	21.8	22	26.2
Interested	62	63.3	57	56.4	59	70.2
Total	98	100.0	101	100.0	84	100.0
Missing			1			
Total			102			

Table 20 Interest in archaeology by educational level in Krenides

		Interest in archaeology			Total
		Uninterested	Neither interested nor uninterested	Interested	
Education	Compulsory education or less	3	9	36	48
		21%	41%	58%	49%
	More than compulsory education	11	13	26	50
		79%	59%	42%	51%
Total		14	22	62	98
		100%	100%	100%	100%

(chi-square= 6.874, df= 2, *p*= .032)

Table 21 'Greek archaeology's national mission is to prove Greece's glorious past'.

	Krenides		Dispilio		Delphi	
	Frequency	Valid Percent	Frequency	Valid Percent	Frequency	Valid Percent
Disagree	6	6.1	6	5.9	7	8.4
Neither agree nor disagree	7	7.1	11	10.9	7	8.4
Agree	85	86.7	84	83.2	69	83.1
Total	98	100.0	101	100.0	83	100.0
Missing			1		1	
Total			102		84	

Table 22 Ancient Greek civilisation is the oldest in the world and unsurpassable by any other ancient civilisation'.

	Krenides		Dispilio		Delphi	
	Frequency	Valid Percent	Frequency	Valid Percent	Frequency	Valid Percent
Disagree	12	12.2	16	16.0	13	15.7
Neither agree nor disagree	13	13.3	12	12.0	6	7.2
Agree	73	74.5	72	72.0	64	77.1
Total	98	100.0	100	100.0	83	100.0
Missing			2		1	
Total			102		84	

Table 23 'The monuments of past constitute one of the most important sources, if not the most important one, of Greek national identity'.

	Krenides		Dispilio		Delphi	
	Frequency	Valid Percent	Frequency	Valid Percent	Frequency	Valid Percent
Disagree	2	2.0	0	0	1	1.2
Neither agree nor disagree	0	0	2	2.0	2	2.4
Agree	96	98.0	99	98.0	81	96.4
Total	98	100.0	101	100.0	84	100.0
Missing			1			
Total			102			

Table 24 Opinions to 'Ancient Greek civilisation' statement by educational level in Dispilio

		Ancient Greek civilisation			Total
		Disagree	Neither agree nor disagree	Agree	
Education	Compulsory education or less	2	3	39	44
		13%	25%	54%	44%
	More than compulsory education	14	9	33	56
		88%	75%	46%	56%
Total		16	12	72	100
		100%	100%	100%	100%

(chi-square= 11.222, df= 2, *p*= .004)

Table 25 Do you regard archaeology as relevant to our lives today?

	Krenides		Dispilio		Delphi	
	Frequency	Valid Percent	Frequency	Valid Percent	Frequency	Valid Percent
Irrelevant	48	50.0	21	20.8	44	52.4
Neither relevant nor irrelevant	34	35.4	43	42.6	25	29.8
Relevant	14	14.6	37	36.6	15	17.9
Total	96	100.0	101	100.0	84	100.0
Missing	2		1			
Total	98		102			

Table 26 Relevance of archaeology by employment condition in Krenides

		Employment		Total
		Employed	Unemployed	
Relevance	Irrelevant	28	20	48
		57%	43%	50%
	Neither relevant neither irrelevant	19	15	34
		39%	32%	35%
	Relevant	2	12	14
		4%	26%	15%
Total		49	47	96
		100%	100%	100%

(chi-square=8.909 , df= 2, *p*= .012)

Table 27 Relevance of archaeology by frequency of attendance to the Philippi Festival in Krenides

		Relevance			Total
		Irrelevant	Neither relevant neither irrelevant	Relevant	
Frequency of attendance to the festival	Rarely or once every three years	24	6	3	33
		51%	21%	30%	39%
	About or more than once a year	23	22	7	52
		49%	79%	70%	61%
Total		47	28	10	85
		100%	100%	100%	100%

(chi-square= 6.860, df= 2, *p*= .032)

Table 28 Relevance of archaeology by gender in Delphi

		Relevance of archaeology			Total
		Irrelevant	Neither relevant nor irrelevant	Relevant	
What is your gender?	Male	32	10	3	45
		72.7%	40.0%	20.0%	53.6%
	Female	12	15	12	39
		27.3%	60.0%	80.0%	46.4%
Total		44	25	15	84
		100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%

(chi-square= 15.140, df= 2, *p*= .001)

Table 29 Who is responsible for antiquities according to the law in Greece?

	Krenides		Dispilio		Delphi	
	Frequency	Valid Percent	Frequency	Valid Percent	Frequency	Valid Percent
The Ephorate/The Archaeological Service	25	25.5	33	32.4	61	72.6
I don't know.	69	70.4	65	63.7	15	17.9
The police	1	1.0	1	1.0	0	0
Kavala	1	1.0	0	0	0	0
The National Tourism Organisation	2	2.0	0	0	0	0
The Prefecture	0	0	2	2.0	0	0
The Minister/The Ministry of Culture	0	0	1	1.0	3	3.6
The Central Archaeological Council	0	0	0	0	5	6
Total	98	100.0	102	100.0	84	100.0

Table 30 Who is responsible for antiquities according to the law in Greece by gender in Krenides

		Responsible service		Total
		The Archaeological Service	I don't know	
Gender	Male	18	32	50
		72%	46%	53%
	Female	7	37	44
		28%	54%	47%
Total		25	69	94
		100%	100%	100%

(chi-square= 4.839, df= 1, *p*= .028)

Table 31 Who is responsible for antiquities according to the law in Greece by gender in Dispilio

		Responsible service		Total
		The Archaeological Service	I don't know	
Gender	Male	24	30	54
		73%	46%	55%
	Female	9	35	44
		27%	54%	45%
Total		33	65	98
		100%	100%	100%

(chi-square= 6.247, df= 1, *p*= .012)

Table 32 Who is responsible for antiquities according to the law in Greece by educational level in Krenides

		Responsible service		Total
		The Archaeological Service	I don't know	
Education	Compulsory education or less	8	38	46
		32.0%	55.1%	48.9%
	More than compulsory education	17	31	48
		68.0%	44.9%	51.1%
Total		25	69	94
		100.0%	100.0%	100.0%

(chi-square= 3.909, df= 1, *p*= .048)

Table 33 Who is responsible for antiquities according to the law in Greece by educational level in Dispilio

		Responsible service		Total
		The Archaeological Service	I don't know	
Education	Compulsory education or less	10	34	44
		30.3%	52.3%	44.9%
	More than compulsory education	23	31	54
		69.7%	47.7%	55.1%
Total		33	65	98
		100.0%	100.0%	100.0%

(chi-square= 4.284, df= 1, *p*= .038)

Table 34 Have you ever needed to contact the Archaeological Service?

	Krenides		Dispilio		Delphi	
	Frequency	Valid Percent	Frequency	Valid Percent	Frequency	Valid Percent
Yes	38	38.8	8	7.8	43	51.2
No	60	61.2	94	92.2	41	48.8
Total	98	100.0	102	100.0	84	100.0

Table 35 Need to contact the Archaeological Service by employment condition in Delphi

		Need to contact the Archaeological Service		Total
		Yes	No	
Employment	Employed	26	33	59
		60%	80%	70%
	Unemployed	17	8	25
		40%	20%	30%
Total		43	41	84
		100%	100%	100%

(chi-square= 4.025, df= 1, *p*= .045)

Table 36 If yes, do you feel that your relationship to archaeology in general is influenced by state bureaucracy and if so, is it influenced positively or negatively?

	Krenides		Dispilio		Delphi	
	Frequency	Valid Percent	Frequency	Valid Percent	Frequency	Valid Percent
Yes, it is influenced positively.	2	5.3	0	0	0	0
Yes, it is influenced negatively.	16	42.1	4	50.0	30	69.8
No, it is not influenced.	20	52.6	4	50.0	13	30.2
Total	38	100.0	8	100.0	43	100.0

Table 37 Influence by state bureaucracy by employment condition in Delphi

		Influenced by state bureaucracy		Total
		Yes, it is influenced negatively.	No, it is not influenced.	
Employment	Employed	23	3	26
		77%	23%	60%
	Unemployed	7	10	17
		23%	77%	40%
Total		30	13	43
		100%	100%	100%

(chi-square= 10.896, df= 1, *p*= .001)

Table 38 How did you find out about this archaeological site by gender in Dispilio

		Knowledge of archaeological site			Total
		I knew before the excavation started	I found out when the excavation started	I moved in/ was born after the excavations had started	
Gender	Male	31	15	6	52
		67%	39%	46%	54%
	Female	15	23	7	45
		33%	61%	54%	46%
Total		46	38	13	97
		100%	100%	100%	100%

(chi-square= 6.857, df= 2, *p*= .032)

Table 39 Have you ever visited this archaeological site/museum and if yes, do you remember when was the last time?

	Krenides		Dispilio		Delphi	
	Freq.	Valid Percent	Freq.	Valid Percent	Freq.	Valid Percent
Yesterday/Today/Every day	3	3.1	20	19.6	11	13.1
The other day/ Last week/ Every week	7	7.1	32	31.4	7	8.3
Often/Regularly/Last month/Every month	11	11.2	10	9.8	5	6.0
Recently/ In the last six months/Every six months	28	28.6	11	10.8	12	14.3
A year ago/Once a year/Every year	5	5.1	16	15.7	13	15.5
More than a year ago	44	44.9	11	10.8	19	22.6
I don't remember	0	0	1	1.0	16	19.0
I haven't visited it	0	0	1	1.0	1	1.2
Total	98	100.0	102	100.0	84	100.0

Table 40 Frequency of visits to local arch. site/museum by gender in Delphi

		Frequency of visits				Total
		From today/yesterday /every day to the other day/last week/every week	From often/last month/every month to recently/in the last six months/every six months	From a year ago/ every year to more than a year ago/every three years	I don't remember/ I haven't visited it	
Gender	Male	15	9	13	8	45
		83%	53%	41%	47%	54%
	Female	3	8	19	9	39
		17%	47%	59%	53%	46%
Total		18	17	32	17	84
		100%	100%	100%	100%	100%

(chi-square= 8.859, df= 3, *p*= .031)

Table 41 What was the reason for your last visit?

Krenides	Freq.	Val.Per.	Dispilio	Freq.	Val.Per.	Delphi	Freq.	Val.Per.
To walk/ exercise	25	25.8	To walk/ exercise	31	30.7	To walk/ exercise	20	23.8
Out of curiosity/int erest	8	8.2	Out of curiosity/int erest	16	15.8	Out of curiosity/int erest	5	6.0
To attend an event	30	30.9	To attend an event	22	21.8	To attend an event	11	13.1
With visitors	12	12.4	With visitors	6	5.9	With visitors	23	27.4
To work	5	5.2	To work	4	4.0	To work	7	8.3
With school	13	13.4	With school	2	2.0	With school	4	4.8
We were looking for coins.	1	1.0	To visit the archaeologi sts or the workers	9	8.9	With my grand/child ren	9	10.7
To hunt	1	1.0	After church	7	6.9	To get energy, inspiration, health for the soul	5	6.0
To collect snails	1	1.0	To take wedding pictures	1	1.0	Total	84	100.0
I don't remember	1	1.0	To go to my boat	1	1.0			
Total	97	100.0	I don't remember	2	2.0			
			Total	101	100.0			

Table 42 What impression did you get from your last visit to the arch. site/museum?

	Krenides		Dispilio		Delphi	
	Frequency	Valid Percent	Frequency	Valid Percent	Frequency	Valid Percent
Positive	53	57.6	78	78.8	58	69.9
Negative	37	40.2	17	17.2	14	16.9
Neutral	2	2.2	4	4.0	11	13.2
Total	92	100.0	99	100.0	83	100.0
Missing	6		3		1	
Total	98		102		84	

Table 43 Impression from last visit by age in Krenides

		Impression from last visit		Total
		Positive	Negative	
Age	18 to 39 years old	17	20	37
		32%	54%	41%
	40 to 64 years old	24	15	39
		45%	41%	43%
	65 years old or more	12	2	14
		23%	5%	16%
Total		53	37	90
		100%	100%	100%

(chi-square= 6.835, df= 2, *p*= .033)

Table 44 Impression from last visit by knowledge of 'Natura 2000' in Dispilio

		Impression from last visit		Total
		Yes	No	
Have you ever heard of the environmental network 'Natura 2000'?	Yes	23	11	34
		30%	65%	37%
	No	53	6	59
		70%	35%	63%
Total		76	17	93
		100%	100%	100%

(chi-square= 7.106, df= 1, *p*= .008)

Table 45 Have you ever visited other archaeological sites/museums and if yes, how often do you visit another archaeological site/museum in general?

	Krenides		Dispilio		Delphi	
	Frequency	Valid Percent	Frequency	Valid Percent	Frequency	Valid Percent
Rarely	35	35.7	32	31.7	22	26.2
Once every three years	22	22.4	29	28.7	34	40.5
About once a year	18	18.4	19	18.8	24	28.6
More than once a year	4	4.1	6	5.9	3	3.6
I have never visited another archaeological site/museum	19	19.4	15	14.9	1	1.2
Total	98	100.0	101	100.0	84	100.0
Missing			1			
Total			102			

Table 46 Frequency of visits to other archaeological sites/museums by educational level in Krenides

		Frequency of visits to other arch. sites/museums					Total
		Rarely	Once every three years	About once a year	More than once a year	Never	
Education	Compulsory education or less	19	6	7	2	14	48
		54%	27%	39%	50%	74%	49%
	More than compulsory education	16	16	11	2	5	50
		46%	73%	61%	50%	26%	51%
Total		35	22	18	4	19	98
		100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%

(chi-square= 9.918, df= 4, *p*= .042)

Table 47 Frequency of attendance to the festival by frequency of visits to other arch. sites/museums in Krenides

		Frequency of visits to other arch. sites/museums					Total
		Rarely	Once every three years	About once a year	More than once a year	Never	
Frequency of attendance to the festival	Rarely or once every three years	18	5	2	1	8	34
		60%	25%	12%	33%	50%	40%
	About or more than once a year	12	15	15	2	8	52
		40%	75%	88%	67%	50%	60%
Total		30	20	17	3	16	86
		100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%

(chi-square= 13.289, df= 4, *p*= .010)

Table 48 Frequency of visits to other arch. sites/ museums by gender in Dispilio

		Frequency of visits to other arch. sites/museums					Total
		Rarely	Once every three years	About once a year	More than once a year	Never	
Gender	Male	24	11	7	3	10	55
		75%	38%	37%	50%	67%	54%
	Female	8	18	12	3	5	46
		25%	62%	63%	50%	33%	46%
Total		32	29	19	6	15	101
		100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%

(chi-square= 11.965, df= 4, *p*= .018)

Table 49 Frequency of visits to other arch. sites/museum by knowledge of 'Natura 2000' in Dispilio

		Frequency of visits to other arch. sites/museums					Total
		Rarely	Once every three years	About once a year	More than once a year	Never	
Have you heard of the environmental network 'Natura 2000'?	Yes	11	13	5	6	2	37
		35%	45%	26%	100%	13%	37%
	No	20	16	14	0	13	63
		65%	55%	74%	0%	87%	63%
Total		31	29	19	6	15	100
		100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%

(chi-square= 15.544, df= 4, *p*= .004)

Table 50 Do you feel that information on the archaeological research conducted in the area is at your disposal?

	Krenides		Dispilio		Delphi	
	Frequency	Valid Percent	Frequency	Valid Percent	Frequency	Valid Percent
Yes	40	40.8	49	48.5	35	41.7
No	50	51.0	35	34.7	46	54.8
Yes, only if you ask.	8	8.2	17	16.8	2	2.4
Some yes, some no	0	0	0	0	1	1.2
Total	98	100.0	101	100.0	84	100.0
Missing			1			
Total			102			

Table 51 Do you feel that information on the archaeological research conducted in the area is at your disposal by educational level in Dispilio

		Access to current research			Total
		Yes	No	Yes, if you ask.	
Education	Compulsory education or less	30	11	5	46
		61%	31%	29%	46%
	More than compulsory education	19	24	12	55
		39%	69%	71%	54%
Total		49	35	17	101
		100%	100%	100%	100%

(chi-square= 9.453, df= 2, *p*= .009)

Table 52 Do you regard the archaeologists' research and interpretation regarding the settlement as reliable? If no, why?

	Dispilio		Delphi	
	Frequency	Valid Percent	Frequency	Valid Percent
Yes	82	81.2	67	79.8
No	17	16.8	17	20.2
I don't know	2	2.0	0	0
Total	101	100.0	84	100.0
Missing System	1			
Total	102			

Table 53 Do you regard the archaeologists' research and interpretation regarding the settlement as reliable by gender in Delphi

		Reliability of research		Total
		Yes	No	
Gender	Male	31	14	45
		46%	82%	54%
	Female	36	3	39
		54%	18%	46%
Total		67	17	84
		100%	100%	100%

(chi-square= 7.098, df= 1, *p*= .008)

Table 54 What would you do if you wanted to become informed about the most recent results of archaeological research in the area?

	Krenides		Dispilio		Delphi	
	Frequency	Valid Percent	Frequency	Valid Percent	Frequency	Valid Percent
Ask family or friends who might know.	29	30.9	10	9.8	24	28.6
Read the local newspaper.	23	24.5	5	4.9	4	4.8
Visit the archaeological site/museum and ask the archaeologists.	31	33.0	79	77.5	39	46.4
Ask the archaeologists if seen in Krenides.	8	8.5	5	4.9	12	14.3
I don't know	1	1.1	0	0	0	0
Nothing	1	1.1	0	0	0	0
Watch the local TV channel	1	1.1	0	0	0	0
Internet.	0	0	2	2.0	3	3.6
I am not interested.	0	0	1	1.0		
There is no one to inform you.	0	0	0	0	1	1.2
Witness the research conducted.	0	0	0	0	1	1.2
Total	94	100.0	102	100.0	84	100.0
Missing System	4		0			
Total	98		102			

Table 55 What would you do if you wanted to become informed about the most recent results of archaeological research in the area by employment condition in Krenides

		Information		
		Visit the archaeological site/museum and ask the archaeologists or ask the archaeologists if seen in Krenides	Ask family or friends who might know/ Read the local newspaper/ Watch the local TV channel	Total
Employment	Employed	27	20	47
		69%	38%	51%
	Unemployed	12	33	45
		31%	62%	49%
Total		39	53	92
		100%	100%	100%

(chi-square= 8.919, df= 1, *p*= .003)

Table 56 What would you do if you wanted to become informed about the most recent results of archaeological research in the area by educational level in Dispilio

		Information		Total
		Visit the archaeological site/museum and ask the archaeologists or ask the archaeologists if seen in Dispilio	Ask family or friends who might know/ Read the local newspaper/ Watch the local TV channel	
Education	Compulsory education or less	12	31	43
		31%	58%	47%
	More than compulsory education	27	22	49
		69%	42%	53%
Total		39	53	92
		100%	100%	100%

(chi-square= 6.936, df= 1, *p*= .008)

Table 57 What would you do if you wanted to become informed about the most recent results of archaeological research in the area by age in Dispilio

		Information		Total
		Visit the archaeological site/museum and ask the archaeologists or ask the archaeologists if seen in Dispilio	Ask family or friends who might know/ Read the local newspaper/ Internet	
Age	18 to 39 years old	43	3	46
		51%	18%	46%
	40 to 64 years old	35	7	42
		42%	41%	42%
	65 years old or more	6	7	13
		7%	41%	13%
Total		84	17	101
		100%	100%	100%

(chi-square= 16.217, df= 2, *p*= .000)

Table 58 What would you do if you wanted to become informed about the most recent results of archaeological research in the area by gender in Delphi

		Information		Total
		Visit the archaeological site/ museum and ask the archaeologists or ask the archaeologists if seen in Delphi	Ask family or friends who might know/ Read the local newspaper/ Internet	
Gender	Male	32	12	44
		63%	39%	54%
	Female	19	19	38
		37%	61%	46%
Total		51	31	82
		100%	100%	100%

(chi-square= 4.479, df= 1, *p*= .034)

Table 59 Do you feel that these archaeological sites/museums belong to you/constitute part of your community and if not, to whom would you say that they belong?

	Krenides		Dispilio		Delphi	
	Freq.	Valid Percent	Freq.	Valid Percent	Freq.	Valid Percent
Yes	73	74.5	77	76.2	55	65.5
No	24	24.5	24	23.8	29	34.5
Yes and no. Life is difficult.	1	1.0	0	0	0	0
Total	98	100.0	101	100.0	84	100.0
Missing System			1			
Total			102			

Table 60 Do you feel that the people who lived in the area from Neolithic times and left these remains are your ancestors? Do you feel any relation to them?

	Krenides		Dispilio		Delphi	
	Frequency	Valid Percent	Frequency	Valid Percent	Frequency	Valid Percent
Yes	69	71.1	54	53.5	66	78.6
No	28	28.9	47	46.5	15	17.9
Yes and No	0	0	0	0	3	3.6
Total	97	100.0	101	100.0	84	100.0
Missing System	1		1			
Total	98		102			

Table 61 Do you feel that the people who lived in the area from Neolithic times and left these remains are your ancestors by age in Krenides

		Feeling of ancestry		Total
		Yes	No	
Age	18 to 39 years old	23	20	43
		33%	71%	44%
	40 to 64 years old	33	6	39
		48%	21%	40%
	65 years old or more	13	2	15
		19%	7%	15%
Total		69	28	97
		100%	100%	100%

(chi-square= 11.735, df= 2, *p*= .003)

Table 62 Do you feel that the people who lived in the area from Neolithic times and left these remains are your ancestors by age in Dispilio

		Feeling of ancestry		Total
		Yes	No	
Age	18 to 39 years old	15	31	46
		28%	66%	46%
	40 to 64 years old	29	14	43
		54%	30%	43%
	65 years old or more	10	2	12
		19%	4%	12%
Total		54	47	101
		100%	100%	100%

(chi-square= 15.721, df= 2, *p*= .000)

Table 63 Do you feel that the people who lived in the area from Neolithic times and left these remains are your ancestors by education in Krenides

		Feeling of ancestry		Total
		Yes	No	
Education	Compulsory education or less	38	9	47
		55%	32%	48%
	More than compulsory education	31	19	50
		45%	68%	52%
Total		69	28	97
		100%	100%	100%

(chi-square= 4.193, df= 1, *p*= .041)

Table 64 Do you feel that the people who lived in the area from Neolithic times and left these remains are your ancestors by educational level in Dispilio

		Feeling of ancestry		Total
		Yes	No	
Education	Compulsory education or less	31	14	45
		57%	30%	45%
	More than compulsory education	23	33	56
		43%	70%	55%
Total		54	47	101
		100%	100%	100%

(chi-square= 7.760, df= 1, *p*= .005)

Table 65 Do you feel that you have a kind of responsibility for and/or rights to these archaeological sites/museums because you live so close to them?

	Krenides		Dispilio		Delphi	
	Frequency	Val.Perc.	Frequency	Val.Perc.	Frequency	Val.Perc.
Yes	62	63.3	61	60.4	65	77.4
No	10	10.2	14	13.9	7	8.3
Responsibility yes, rights no.	26	26.5	26	25.7	12	14.3
Total	98	101	101	100.0	84	100.0

Missing			1			
Total			102			

Table 66 If the excavation was open to the public while archaeologists were digging, how interested do you think that people like you would be in visiting it?

	Krenides		Dispilio		Delphi	
	Frequency	Valid Percent	Frequency	Valid Percent	Frequency	Valid Percent
Uninterested	27	30.0	48	49.0	42	50.6
Neither interested nor uninterested	24	26.7	24	24.5	23	27.7
Interested	39	43.3	26	26.5	18	21.7
Total	90	100.0	98	100.0	83	100.0
Missing System	8		4		1	
Total	98		102		84	

Table 67 How interested do you think people like you would be in participating voluntarily in the excavation, if such an initiative was taken by the archaeologists?

	Krenides		Dispilio		Delphi	
	Frequency	Valid Percent	Frequency	Valid Percent	Frequency	Valid Percent
Uninterested	28	30.8	43	43.9	31	37.3
Neither interested nor uninterested	21	23.1	19	19.4	21	25.3
Interested	42	46.2	36	36.7	31	37.3
Total	91	100.0	98	100.0	83	100.0
Missing System	7		4		1	
Total	98		102		84	

Table 68 Interest in voluntary participation in the excavation by frequency of attendance to the Philippi Festival in Krenides

		Interest in voluntary participation			Total
		Uninterested	Neither interested nor uninterested	Interested	
Frequency of attendance to festival	Rarely or once every three years	10	2	20	32
		42%	11%	54%	40%
	About or more than once a year	14	17	17	48
		58%	89%	46%	60%
Total		24	19	37	80
		100%	100%	100%	100%

(chi-square= 9.950, df= 2, *p*= .007)

Table 69 Interest in voluntary participation in the excavation by gender in Dispilio

		Interest in voluntary participation			Total
		Uninterested	Neither interested nor uninterested	Interested	
Gender	Male	30	8	16	54
		70%	42%	44%	55%
	Female	13	11	20	44
		30%	58%	56%	45%
Total		43	19	36	98
		100%	100%	100%	100%

(chi-square= 6.688, df= 2, *p*= .035)

Table 70 Interest in voluntary participation in the excavation by gender in Delphi

		Interest in voluntary participation			Total
		Uninterested	Neither interested nor uninterested	Interested	
Gender	Male	20	14	11	45
		65%	67%	35%	54%
	Female	11	7	20	38
		35%	33%	65%	46%
Total		31	21	31	83
		100%	100%	100%	100%

(chi-square= 7.019, df= 2, *p*= .030)

Table 71 What is the primary source of information of what you know about archaeology?

	Krenides		Dispilio		Delphi	
	Frequency	Valid Percent	Frequency	Valid Percent	Frequency	Valid Percent
School education	36	37.1	23	22.8	15	17.9
The media (i.e. newspaper, magazines, television etc)	8	8.2	19	18.8	2	2.4
Experience/My environs/Life here	35	36.1	41	40.6	42	50.0
Work	4	4.1	5	5.0	6	7.1
Books	12	12.4	12	11.9	18	21.4
Internet	1	1.0	0	0	0	0
My husband/ My daughter	1	1.0	1	1.0	0	0
People, books and personal research	0	0	0	0	1	1.2
Total	97	100.0	101	100.0	84	100.0
Missing System	1		1			
Total	98		102			

Table 72 Primary source of information by educational level in Krenides

		Primary source of information			Total
		School education	Books and media	Experience/ My environs/Life here/Work/My husband	
Education	Compulsory education or less	10	8	29	47
		28%	38%	73%	48%
	More than compulsory education	26	13	11	50
		72%	62%	28%	52%
Total		36	21	40	97
		100%	100%	100%	100%

(chi-square= 16.324, df= 2, *p*= .000)

Table 73 Primary source of information by educational level in Dispilio

		Primary source of information			Total
		School education	Books and media	Experience/My environs/Life here/Work/My daughter	
Education	Compulsory education or less	7	11	28	46
		30%	35%	60%	46%
	More than compulsory education	16	20	19	55
		70%	65%	40%	54%
Total		23	31	47	101
		100%	100%	100%	100%

(chi-square= 7.113, df= 2, *p*= .029)

Table 74 What do you associate archaeology most closely with?

	Krenides		Dispilio		Delphi	
	Freq.	Valid Percent	Freq.	Valid Percent	Freq.	Valid Percent
To ancient art	12	12.4	34	33.3	30	35.7
To contemporary politics	2	2.1	1	1.0	0	0
To life in the past	31	32.0	39	38.2	19	22.6
To national history	35	36.1	14	13.7	17	20.2
To tourism	16	16.5	14	13.7	14	16.7
To archaeologists who work only for the salary and whatever they can steal	1	1.0	0	0	0	0
To ancient civilisation and technology	0	0	0	0	1	1.2
To discovering and counting findings	0	0	0	0	1	1.2
To god Apollo	0	0	0	0	1	1.2
To the connection of all past human conditions and their comparison	0	0	0	0	1	1.2
Total	97	100.0	102	100.0	84	100.0
Missing System	1					

Total	98					

Table 75 Do you believe that archaeology has value and if yes, what do you believe is the most important value it has?

	Krenides		Dispilio		Delphi	
	Frequency	Valid Percent	Frequency	Valid Percent	Frequency	Valid Percent
Historical-scientific value	42	42.9	49	48.0	31	36.9
Political value	4	4.1	1	1.0	2	2.4
Educational-intellectual value	30	30.6	27	26.5	26	31.0
Economic value	8	8.2	6	5.9	5	6.0
Social-cultural value	14	14.3	18	17.6	20	23.8
Other/ Unspecified	0	0	1	1.0	0	0
Total	98	100.0	102	100.0	84	100.0

Table 76 Values of archaeology by frequency of attendance to the Philippi Festival in Krenides

		Values of archaeology				Total
		Historical-scientific	Political and economic	Educational-intellectual	Social-cultural	
Frequency of attendance to festival	Rarely or once every three years	17	8	7	2	34
		44%	80%	29%	15%	40%
	About or more than once a year	22	2	17	11	52
		56%	20%	71%	85%	60%
Total		39	10	24	13	86
		100%	100%	100%	100%	100%

(chi-square= 11.369, df= 3, *p*= .010)

Table 77 Tourism as an advatage of archaeology

	Krenides		Dispilio		Delphi	
	Frequency	Valid Percent	Frequency	Valid Percent	Frequency	Valid Percent
Yes	59	60.2	78	76.5	67	79.8
No	39	39.8	24	23.5	17	20.2
Total	98	100.0	102	100.0	84	100.0

Table 78 Tourism as an advantage of archaeology by employment condition in Krenides

		Tourism		Total
		Yes	No	
Employment	Employed	24	26	50
		41%	67%	51%
	Unemployed	35	13	48
		59%	33%	49%
Total		59	39	98
		100%	100%	100%

(chi-square= 6.346, df= 1, *p*= .012)

Table 79 Tourism as an advantage of archaeology by educational level in Dispilio

		Tourism		Total
		Yes	No	
Education	Compulsory education or less	31	15	46
		40%	63%	45%
	More than compulsory education	47	9	56
		60%	38%	55%
Total		78	24	102
		100%	100%	100%

(chi-square= 3.839, df= 1, *p*= .050)

Table 80 Tourism as an advantage of archaeology by frequency of visits to other arch. sites/museum in Dispilio

		Tourism		Total
		Yes	No	
Frequency of visits to other arch. sites/museums	Rarely or once every three years	42	19	61
		54%	83%	60%
	About or more than once a year	22	3	25
		28%	13%	25%
	I have never visited another archaeological site	14	1	15
		18%	4%	15%
Total		78	23	101
		100%	100%	100%

(chi-square= 6.295, df= 2, *p*= .043)

Table 81 Employment for locals as an advantage of archaeology by gender in Dispilio

		Employment for locals		Total
		Yes	No	
Gender	Male	14	42	56
		82%	49%	55%
	Female	3	43	46
		18%	51%	45%
Total		17	85	102
		100%	100%	100%

(chi-square= 6.209, df= 1, *p*= .013)

Table 82 Employment for locals as an advantage of archaeology by educational level in Dispilio

		Employment for locals		Total
		Yes	No	
Education	Compulsory education or less	12	34	46
		71%	40%	45%
	More than compulsory education	5	51	56
		29%	60%	55%
Total		17	85	102
		100%	100%	100%

(chi-square= 5.353, df= 1, *p*= .021)

Table 83 Employment for locals as an advantage of archaeology by knowledge of environmental network 'Natura 2000' in Dispilio

		Employment for locals		Total
		Yes	No	
Have you heard of the environmental network 'Natura 2000'?	Yes	10	27	37
		59%	33%	37%
	No	7	56	63
		41%	67%	63%
Total		17	83	100
		100%	100%	100%

(chi-square= 4.185, df= 1, *p*= .041)

Table 84 Socio-cultural advantages of archaeology by employment condition in Krenides

		Socio-cultural advantages		Total
		Yes	No	
Employment	Employed	10	40	50
		34%	58%	51%
	Unemployed	19	29	48
		66%	42%	49%
Total		29	69	98
		100%	100%	100%

(chi-square= 4.508, df= 1, *p*= .034)

Table 85 Economic advantages of archaeology by knowledge of environmental network 'Natura 2000' in Dispilio

		Economic advantages		Total
		Yes	No	
Have you heard of the environmental network 'Natura 2000'?	Yes	35	2	37
		42%	13%	37%
	No	49	14	63
		58%	88%	63%
Total		84	16	100
		100%	100%	100%

(chi-square= 4.905, df= 1, *p*= .027)

Table 86 Socio-cultural advantages of archaeology by gender in Dispilio

		Socio-cultural advantages		Total
		Yes	No	
Gender	Male	12	44	56
		36%	64%	55%
	Female	21	25	46
		64%	36%	45%
Total		33	69	102

	100%	100%	100%

(chi-square= 6.771, df= 1, *p*= .009)

Table 87 Socio-cultural advantages of archaeology by knowledge of World Heritage status in Delphi

		Socio-cultural advantages		Total
		Yes	No	
Knowledge of WH status	Yes	13	38	51
		87%	56%	61%
	I don't know	2	30	32
		13%	44%	39%
Total		15	68	83
		100%	100%	100%

(chi-square= 4.916, df= 1, *p*= .027)

Table 88 No disadvantages/'Disadvantages are unimportant'.

	Krenides		Dispilio		Delphi	
	Frequency	Valid Percent	Frequency	Valid Percent	Frequency	Valid Percent
Yes	38	38.8	63	61.8	10	11.9
No	60	61.2	39	38.2	74	88.1
Total	98	100.0	102	100.0	84	100.0

Table 89 No disadvantages/'Disadvantages are unimportant' by gender in Krenides

		No disadvantages/ 'Disadvantages are unimportant'.		Total
		Yes	No	
Gender	Male	14	37	51
		37%	62%	52%
	Female	24	23	47
		63%	38%	48%
Total		38	60	98
		100%	100%	100%

(chi-square= 5.745, df= 1, *p*= .017)

Table 90 No disadvantages/'Disadvantages are unimportant' by educational level in Krenides

		No disadvantages/ 'Disadvantages are unimportant'.		Total
		Yes	No	
Education	Compulsory education or less	25	23	48
		66%	38%	49%
	More than compulsory education	13	37	50
		34%	62%	51%
Total		38	60	98
		100%	100%	100%

(chi-square= 7.018, df= 1, *p*= .008)

Table 91 Restrictions in building and in the use of private property as disadvantages of archaeology

	Krenides		Dispilio		Delphi	
	Frequency	Valid Percent	Frequency	Valid Percent	Frequency	Valid Percent
Yes	40	40.8	11	10.8	60	71.4
No	58	59.2	91	89.2	24	28.6
Total	98	100.0	102	100.0	84	100.0

Table 92 Activities restrictions, permissions requests, bureaucracy and delays as disadvantages of archaeology

	Krenides		Dispilio		Delphi	
	Frequency	Valid Percent	Frequency	Valid Percent	Frequency	Valid Percent
Yes	30	30.6	32	31.4	8	9.5
No	68	69.4	70	68.6	76	90.5
Total	98	100.0	102	100.0	84	100.0

Table 93 Other disadvantages

	Krenides		Dispilio		Delphi	
	Frequency	Valid Percent	Frequency	Valid Percent	Frequency	Valid Percent
Yes	5	5.1	17	16.7	16	19.0
No	93	94.9	85	83.3	68	81.0
Total	98	100.0	102	100.0	84	100.0

Table 94 Activities restrictions, permissions requests, bureaucracy, behaviour and delays as disadvantages of archaeology by educational level in Krenides

		Activities restrictions etc.		Total
		Yes	No	
Education	Compulsory education or less	9	39	48
		30%	57%	49%
	More than compulsory education	21	29	50
		70%	43%	51%
Total		30	68	98
		100%	100%	100%

(chi-square= 6.232, df= 1, *p*= .013)

Table 95 Other disadvantages by age in Dispilio

		Age			Total
		18 to 39 years old	40 to 64 years old	65 years old or more	
Other	Yes	8	4	5	17
		17%	9%	38%	17%
	No	38	39	8	85
		83%	91%	62%	83%
Total		46	43	13	102
		100%	100%	100%	100%

(chi-square= 6.143, df= 2, *p*= .046)

Table 96 Do you believe that these archaeological sites/museums improve the quality of life in your area?

	Krenides		Dispilio		Delphi	
	Frequency	Valid Percent	Frequency	Valid Percent	Frequency	Valid Percent
Yes	83	85.6	85	86.7	71	84.5
No	14	14.4	11	11.2	10	11.9
Yes and no	0	0	2	2.0	1	1.2
I don't know	0	0	0	0	2	2.4
Total	97	100.0	98	100.0	84	100.0
Missing	1		4			
Total	98		102			

Table 97 Improvement of quality of life by employment condition in Krenides

		Employment		Total
		Employed	Unemployed	
Do you believe that these archaeological sites/museums improve the quality of life in your area?	Yes	38	45	83
		78%	94%	86%
	No	11	3	14
		22%	6%	14%
Total		49	48	97
		100%	100%	100%

(chi-square= 5.152, df= 1, *p*= .023)

Table 98 Do you believe that archaeology has been an impediment to the development of your area?

	Krenides		Dispilio		Delphi	
	Frequency	Val.Perc.	Frequency	Val.Perc.	Frequency	Val.Perc.
Yes	17	17.9	11	10.9	59	70.2
No	78	82.1	88	87.1	21	25.0
Yes and no	0	0	0	0	4	4.8
I don't know	0	0	2	2.0	0	0
Total	95	100.0	101	100.0	84	100.0
Missing	3		1			
Total	98		102			

Table 99 Archaeology as impediment to development by gender in Krenides

		Gender		Total
		Male	Female	
Do you believe that archaeology has been an impediment to the development of Krenides?	Yes	13	4	17
		27%	9%	18%
	No	36	42	78
		73%	91%	82%
Total		49	46	95
		100%	100%	100%

(chi-square= 5.137, df= 1, *p*= .023)

Table 100 Archaeology as impediment to development by frequency of visits to other arch. sites/ museums in Delphi

		Impediment to development		Total
		Yes	No	
Frequency of visits to other arch.sites/museums	Rarely or once every three years	45	9	54
		76%	45%	68%
	About or more than once a year	14	11	25
		24%	55%	32%
Total		59	20	79
		100%	100%	100%

(chi-square= 6.752, df= 1, *p*= .009)

Table 101 Who do you believe is most concerned with archaeology today?

	Krenides		Dispilio		Delphi	
	Freq.	Valid Percent	Freq.	Valid Percent	Freq.	Valid Percent
The state and the responsible officials	55	56.1	69	68.3	44	53.7
Those who work in the tourist industry	10	10.2	11	10.9	12	14.6
The local communities in every archaeological site	18	18.4	12	11.9	14	17.1
Looters	2	2.0	3	3.0	0	0
Those who make money.	1	1.0	2	2.0	1	1.2
Tourists	2	2.0	0	0	3	3.7
Nobody	4	4.1	1	1.0	1	1.2
I don't know	1	1.0	0	0	0	0
Lovers of history	1	1.0	0	0	0	0
Researchers	3	3.1	0	0	0	0
Worshipers of the Twelve Gods	1	1.0	0	0	0	0
All Greeks	0	0	2	2.0	5	6.1
Romantics like Andronikos	0	0	0	0	1	1.2
The French	0	0	0	0	1	1.2
Others/Unspecified	0	0	1	1.0	0	0
Total	98	100.0	101	100.0	82	100.0
Missing			1		2	
Total			102		84	

Table 102 For whom do you believe that archaeology is practiced in Greece today?

	Krenides		Dispilio		Delphi	
	Freq.	Valid Percent	Freq.	Valid Percent	Freq.	Valid Percent
For all of us (e.g. society, discipline etc)	23	23.7	19	20.2	30	36.1
For the archaeologists (e.g. research interests, studies etc)	43	44.3	38	40.4	8	9.6
For both of the above	17	17.5	34	36.2	21	25.3
For the state	5	5.2	2	2.1	19	22.9
It depends on the person	5	5.2	0	0	0	0
I don't know	4	4.1	1	1.1	0	0
For those who have interests	0	0	0	0	5	6.0
Total	97	100.0	94	100.0	83	100.0
Missing System	1		8		1	
Total	98		102		84	

APPENDIX V Maps and Photos

Plate 1 Map of Greece

Plate 2 Map of the area of Krenides

Plate 3 Map of the area of Dispilio

Plate 4 Map of the area of Delphi

Plate 5 The central street of Krenides

Plate 6 Before an ancient drama performance at the Philippi Festival

Plate 7 The Baptistry of Saint Lydia and the Centre for Studies on Saint Paul

Plate 8 The ancient theatre

Plate 9 The Roman Forum

Plate 10 Part of the Octagon complex

Plate 11 Basilica B

Plate 12 The *extra muros* Basilica in the centre of Krenides

Plate 13 One of the bigger rock art panels

Plate 14 The archaeological museum in the archaeological site of Philippi

Plate 15 View of the central street of Dispilio

Plate 16 View of the central street of Dispilio

Plate 17 View of a back road in Dispilio

Plate 18 The archaeological site where the excavation is taking place, at the back of the Church of the Ascension

Plate 19 The bust of Bishop Nicephoros Papasideris (1936- 58)

Plate 20 The cave-refuge during the battle of Dispilio (1941)

Plate 21 View of the exhibition next to the excavation workshop

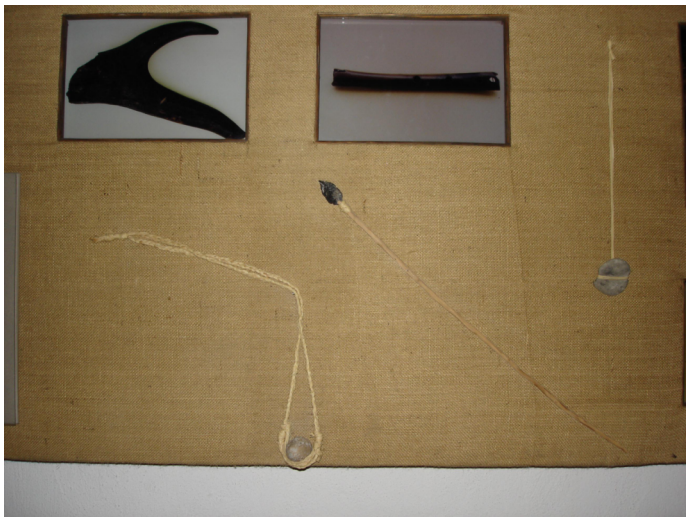

Plate 22 View of the exhibition next to the excavation workshop

Plate 23 General view of the Ecomuseum

Plate 24 Exterior view of huts at the Ecomuseum

Plate 25 Interior view of a hut at the Ecomuseum

Plate 26 General view of the area on the Ascension Day Fair

Plate 27 View of the Fair on Ascension Day

Plate 28 View of the main street of Delphi

Plate 29 View of the main street of Delphi

Plate 30 Souvenirs shop at the main street of Delphi

Plate 31 View of a back road in Delphi

Plate 32 View of the European Cultural Centre of Delphi

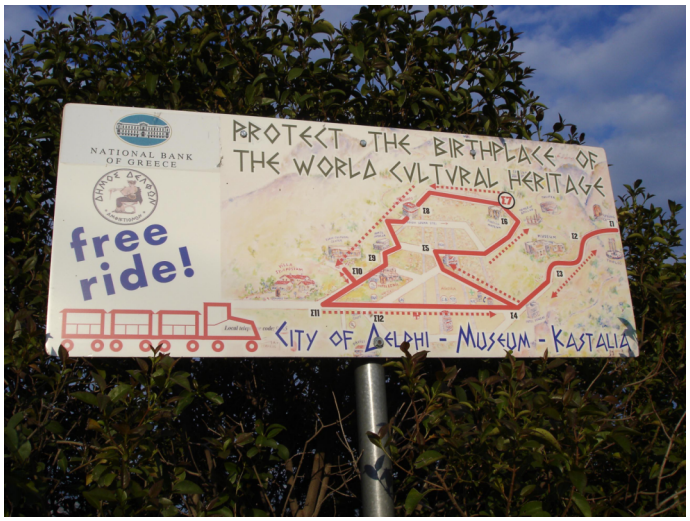

Plate 33 Promotional sign of the Municipality of Delphi

Plate 34 View of the Sanctuary of Apollo

Plate 35 The national road, which leads to the archaeological site and the museum